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Impact of Restructuring on Foreign Policy Viewed

'Mistakes' of Past Noted

PM1506145988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA political observer A. Bovin: "Restructuring and Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Restructuring has, in practice, embraced all the floors and all the systems of our public edifice. But its pace, the thoroughness of the changes, and the correlation between word and deed change from floor to floor, from one sphere of social life to another. It seems to me that restructuring has affected the sphere of spiritual culture to the greatest degree, particularly its operational "genres." What we are saying and writing, seeing and hearing today was inconceivable the day before yesterday. Real changes are less noticeable in the economic and sociopolitical spheres. Although the main links of the braking mechanism which operates here are in the zone of glasnost, in the zone of open critical discussion, the forces of resistance are not yet yielding their positions.

The restructuring process in foreign policy is developing differently. Here, as far as can be understood, the main assemblies of the braking mechanism have already been dismantled. The vigorous practical realization of the principles of the new political thinking and the radical renewal of the leading structures of the diplomatic apparatus have enabled us to escape from the customary, traditional ideas and to scale heights which only recently were considered inaccessible.

In order to get a better, more detailed picture of the scale and significance of the changes in our foreign policy reality, it is useful to recall an extract from the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference. "Critical analysis of the past," they state, "has shown that dogmatism and a subjectivist approach left their mark on our foreign policy too. It was allowed to lag behind the fundamental changes in the world, and the new opportunities for reducing tension and for greater mutual understanding among the peoples were not realized in full. In seeking military-strategic parity, in the past we did not always utilize the opportunities for ensuring the state's security by political means and, as a result, we allowed ourselves to be drawn into the arms race—which could not fail to affect the country's socioeconomic development and international position."

It is not hard to realize that a foreign policy which bore the "mark" of dogmatism and a subjectivist approach, which was unable to familiarize itself in time with the scope of the changes which had embraced the world, which "did not always" emphasize political means of ensuring the country's security—that such a foreign policy frequently avoided real opportunities, was devoid of internal dynamism, and was attended by mistakes and miscalculations.

The siting of SS-20 missiles and the introduction of troops into Afghanistan are, in my view, typical examples of decisions of a subjectivist nature geared to the use of strong-arm military methods in foreign policy. In both cases we clearly overestimated our own potential and underestimated what could be called the "resistance of the medium." In both cases we scored our own goals—which damaged our prestige in the international arena. In both cases we suffered great moral and material harm. And in Afghanistan we paid the highest price—the price of blood.

In both cases we drove ourselves into a corner and created impasse situations from which there was no exit within the framework of the old way of thinking and the old stereotypes. It was only the switching of foreign policy activity to a new system of coordinates that enabled the Soviet political leadership to reinterpret the state of affairs and to adopt the only correct decisions—to go for the "zero option" with the "Euromissiles" and to withdraw the troops from Afghanistan.

Each of these decisions is important and significant in itself. And at the same time they can be viewed as unique symbols of overall restructuring, the renewal of Soviet foreign policy, and the radical change in its style and the ways and means it uses. The fundamental orientation of the beneficial changes was set by the concept of the new political thinking.

Quite a lot has already been written about the new political thinking. Nonetheless, there is some point in taking another look at its basic characteristics.

The new thinking is above all consistently scientific thinking. This thinking is strictly realistic. It sees the world as it is, in all its complexity, contradictoriness, and multi-dimensionality. It does not turn its back on "unpleasant" facts and situations and proceeds not from what is desirable but from what is possible. This thinking is self-critical by its very nature. Complacent infallibility and claims to a monopoly of the truth are alien to it. Relying on feedback, it corrects, supplements, and modifies political decisions, seeking to make them as effective as possible. This thinking is antidogmatic in principle. It is open to everything new and unexpected which does not fit into the usual systems. It does not balk at reviewing views sanctified by time if these views contradict life and reality.

The new political thinking may be described as a synthesis, as the union of science and politics.

Science notes that man is living through a crisis-laden, critical period of his development. We now have no guaranteed future. Existing stocks of nuclear weapons create the technical possibility of the breaking up and halting of history. The "ecological bomb" is no less dangerous. Scientific and technical progress is making air, water, and food increasingly toxic and poisonous. The actual process of living runs the risk of turning into

slow suicide. The extremely uneven pace of economic and social development and the contrasts between poverty and wealth create dangerous spheres of tension on global and regional scales. Alarm, anxiety, and a sense of instability and uncertainty are traumatizing the era's public consciousness.

Politics, the politics on which the Soviet Union insists, offers a way out, offers salvation. There is no acceptable, sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence. Consequently the solution of the complex of global problems is possibly only on the roads of constructive, creative collaboration between states and peoples. Consequently, moreover, the attentions of politics and politicians should be focused on general human, all-human interests. Consequently, finally, the times demand that the arms race be halted, without which there can be no question of any constructive collaboration or any satisfaction of general human interests.

Offering a specific, detailed program, encompassing all types of armaments, for a transition to a nonnuclear, nonviolent world, the Soviet Union is far from any ultimatums or demands of the "all or nothing" type. We are prepared to modify our positions and to take partial, interim decisions, as long as they mean movement in the necessary direction. We are prepared for in-depth compromises and for a consideration—on a mutual, equitable basis—of the interests of all states. We are prepared to accompany each step along the path of disarmament with the toughest verification measures if, of course, our partners in the talks are prepared for this.

And all this is already not only words, not only good intentions—all this is already the Soviet Union's foreign policy practice. The decision to withdraw the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the advances at the talks on a substantial reduction of strategic offensive arms, the destruction of chemical weapons, and the banning of nuclear explosions, and the overall stabilization of Soviet-U.S. relations—these are the real, tangible results of the restructuring of Soviet foreign policy and the penetration of the new political thinking into political practice.

We are trying to understand others better and have begun to be better understood ourselves. Our relations with many states have improved—none have deteriorated. The myth of the "Soviet threat" has been markedly shaken. Everyone is learning to see present and future partners in former "enemies." The thread by which the Damoclean sword of the nuclear threat still hangs has become much stronger. For 3 years of restructuring this is quite a lot to accomplish.

"The development of events in the Soviet Union has become a key factor raising the situation in the world to a qualitatively new level." This conclusion was drawn in the annual "Strategic Review of the World Situation 1987-1988" published by the London International Institute for Strategic Studies. The Soviet Union will do everything possible to ensure that the level which has been reached becomes a stepping stone for the further relaxation of international tension and stabilization of the world situation.

The restructuring of Soviet foreign policy continues. One of the next tasks is to change the nature of the relationship between the Soviet public and the apparatus responsible for evolving and implementing the foreign policy course. For decades the work of this apparatus has been beyond the control of the public. This situation still persists today. The public finds out about decisions in international policy only when these decisions have already been made. And the only thing left for the public to do is approve the decision which has been taken.

At present the zone of glasnost, the zone of critical analysis, is beginning to approach only individual episodes in the history of our foreign policy activity. We must, we must without fail, go further. Of course, it is hard to break traditions which have become the flesh and blood of our state organism. But if we are really serious about democracy we must resolve to take this step and place the whole of our diplomatic service in the zone of glasnost and control "from below." The participation of the broad public in the discussion of foreign policy subjects, the proposal and comparison of different possible courses of action in the world arena, and analysis of the pluses and minuses of foreign policy activity will undoubtedly help to make our foreign policy still more effective and closer and more intelligible to the people.

Western Leaders 'Lagging'

PM1606091588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 88 First Edition p 5

[Political observer Vitaliy Korionov "Viewpoint": "Fresh Wind"]

[Text] In a recent LE MONDE commentary devoted to the results of the Moscow summit meeting it was possible to read these lines: Changes in Soviet-U.S. relations were made possible thanks to the changes in the Soviet Union's policy which embrace, inter alia, the diplomatic sphere. This is, of course, true. Although it would, of course, be possible to add that the fruitfulness of the Moscow meeting is accounted for not only by the fact that changes are occurring in USSR policy. The logic of the nuclear missile age means that the U.S. leadership also has to take the realities of the modern world into account and revise a great deal in its foreign policy.

It is impossible to disagree with our LE MONDE colleagues that the restructuring being carried out in the USSR really is having an increasingly profound and fruitful impact on the state of affairs in the modern world's foreign policy sphere. Soviet restructuring has burst into diplomatic offices like a refreshing whirlwind,

forcing statesmen and politicians to examine realistically the events occurring in the world and to formulate new approaches to resolving the complex problems advanced by life.

While restructuring our country's internal life, the party has also trained the searchlight of restructuring on the foreign policy sphere. The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th party conference acknowledge in a most straightforward manner: "Critical analysis of the past has shown that dogmatism and a subjectivist approach also left their mark on our foreign policy." Consequently, our foreign policy is also undergoing examination today. And if the world press is now stating practically unanimously that "the hour of real nuclear disarmament has struck" as a result of the fourth Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, that "the peoples have breathed more freely," and that "the world feels better," this attests that Soviet foreign policy is passing the examination.

The realization that the Soviet Union proposes a new concept of just and lasting peace for all by means of restructuring is strengthening in international public opinion. And this concept is meeting with growing support. Here are a few illustrations.

The annual "Strategic Review of the World Situation in 1987-1988," prepared by London's International Institute for Strategic Studies, was published at the end of last month. Restructuring in the Soviet Union, this document points out, has had a profound impact on the whole climate of international relations, created new conditions in the international arena, and opened up unprecedented prospects for a tangible—and even considerable—change in the world situation. "The development of events in the Soviet Union is a key factor which has raised the situation in the world to a qualitatively new level." The words "perestroyka" and "glasnost" have entered the vocabulary of the languages of the peoples of Western countries, the study goes on to state. The new thinking in Soviet foreign policy is something more than a simple exercise in rhetoric. The signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the emergent outlines of a treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms, work on which is far advanced, attest that the Soviet Union is ready to back up its words with actions.

The Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, which has begun, the USSR's wish to promote a peace settlement in Angola, and its recent constructive steps at the United Nations are another indication of this. The review's authors urge Western countries to respond to the peaceful challenge issued by the Soviet Union. They point out that in this respect Western leaders are lagging behind public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic, which is "becoming increasingly aware of the need to formulate a new policy in accordance with the changed realities."

The theses of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] "The FRG's Interest in the Soviet Policy of Reforms" were recently published in Bonn. The success of the present Soviet leadership's policy and the realization of the new thinking, the theses point out in particular, accord with the FRG's fundamental interests. The authors of the theses urge that the opportunities being created by the Soviet Union's policy be utilized and that the second phase of the detente policy be initiated. This policy is to lay the foundations of a Europe which is not torn by the antagonism of two social systems but is united by a common interest in resolving the problems of ensuring peace, as well as economic and ecological problems and human rights. In the SPD's opinion, such restructuring in East-West relations would have positive consequences for West Europe as a whole.

Characterizing the CPSU Central Committee document for the upcoming party conference, the weekly SEVEN DAYS, published in Britain, writes: "This is an extremely exciting plan of tremendous significance. It promises the Soviet people new hopes and tangible prospects for nuclear disarmament and improved international relations, as well as promising to give the socialist movement a new boost."

Yes, the "image of the enemy" is collapsing. Of course, this certainly does not mean that forces interested in preserving the atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion will abandon their efforts. But they are finding it increasingly difficult with every passing day to maintain the former concept of a propaganda struggle against the Soviet Union and its domestic and foreign policy. The new thinking, which invites everyone to cooperate, is persistently making headway and taking a hold on the minds of millions.

Biryukov on Need To End Foreign Military Bases

LD1506163288 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—Political commentator Askold Biryukov writes:

The American F-16 fighter-bombers that are being expelled from Torrejon in Spain and have not yet been redeployed in Italy have already started a storm of protests there. The protests involve the broadest spectrum of public forces from Christian Democrats and clericals to communists.

At the gates of the biggest U.S. overseas air base in Clark Field, the Philippines, thousands of protestors demanded an end to American military presence in that country because this presence damages its sovereignty and peace development.

More than ten thousand people gathered in front of the U.S. Embassy in Manila to demand the termination of the Philippine-American agreement on military bases. A

number of Philippine senators headed by the majority leader Orlando Mercado have objected to a prolongation of this agreement that expires in 1991.

The withdrawal of American military installations from Greek territory is demanded by the Greek public. An agreement on the deployment of these installations on Greek territory expires at the end of this year and Washington stubbornly presses for them to stay.

Who does not know such names as Greenham Common, Mutlangen, Heilbronn, Yokosuka, Okinawa? Wherever U.S. military bases are located this causes tension and masses of people concerned about the preservation of civilisation unanimously demand that these bases be removed and foreign military presence terminated.

In the post-war years the U.S. bases policy has created many critical situations in the world, even conflicts in relations of the United States with its allies because with the deployment of nuclear weapons on their territory they were given the role of a "lightning rod" designed to absorb the return strike of retribution.

Scattered along the entire perimeter around the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with the aim of putting pressure on them, the American military bases on foreign countries have served more than once as springboards for acts of aggression against Third World countries as well and were used for ensuring the economic and military-political interests of the United States in countries that Washington has arbitrarily included in the sphere of its "vital interests". These bases are being used also in implementing the "Strategic Defense Initiative" and, consequently, for drawing the host countries of these bases into a new most dangerous spiral of the arms race.

Within the framework of the burgeoning new political thinking the entry into force of the INF Treaty, the prospects of achieving a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms and the other disarmament measures create favourable possibilities for solving the problem of eliminating foreign military bases and military presence on foreign territories on the basis of a balance of interests and mutual security.

It is exactly with account for this that the USSR submitted to the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament a working document that sets the task of eliminating foreign military presence and foreign bases on the territory of others by the year 2000. Realising that it is impossible to solve this problem in a single stroke the USSR proposes to act step by step with due account for the specificity of the situation and the genuine security and defence requirements in various regions of the world. On the basis of agreement such measures could become initial or intermediate steps in this endeavour as the non-buildup of military presence and military activity outside national boundaries, the prohibition or limitation of deployment of the more dangerous weapon systems at military installations abroad, the scaling down of military presence and military bases in zones of conflict situations, the non-prolongation of agreements on bases, etc.

Of course, it is proposed to carry all this out under the strictest control, including on-spot inspections. The United Nations could be drawn into this activity.

The new Soviet proposal takes into account the ideas of many members of the world community. Its implementation would be a real contribution to achieving the goal of a nuclear-weapons-free and non-violent world.

Gerasimov, Shishlin on Arms, East-West Trade
LD1506204588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Interview with Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, and Nikolay Shishlin, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, by Bohumil Horak; date and place not given—recorded in Russian with superimposed Czech translation]

[Text] [Horak] During the Moscow summit meeting the problem connected with the preparation of an agreement on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms was one of the central issues between the Soviet Union and the United States. At what stage are these talks now?

¡Gerasimov] There is a break in them at present. Diplomats also need to have a rest. They will return to Geneva on 12 July. In Washington and Geneva last year we agreed that a draft of this treaty would be prepared by the time of the Moscow summit. Regrettably this did not happen for many reasons. One of the chief ones are difficulties arising from the fact that we have been traveling along an unchartered road. Despite this—and the two sides were at one in saying so in Moscow—the Soviet Union and the United States will continue to work on this treaty. If we are to be more precise in indicating the chances for this treaty to be signed already this year, in 1988, then approximately 30 percent or perhaps fewer of the prerequisites have been created for this treaty to be signed already this year. Most probably, however, the treaty will be implemented in 1989. It will depend on how energetically the new U.S. administration approaches this issue, which is very important not only for Soviet-U.S. relations but for the whole world.

[Horak] One of the issues discussed at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting was prospects for economic cooperation not only between the Soviet Union and the United States but also in a wider sense between East and West. How do you judge from this viewpoint the declaration on official relations between the Soviet Union and the United States but also in a wider sense between East and West. How do you judge from this viewpoint the declaration on official relations between CEMA and the EEC, which is to be signed in Luxembourg next week?

[Shishlin] Talks on this subject have been going on for some time already, at the time when we criticized the Common Market as something illusory, as something full of contradictions. But we have to proceed from reality, and the Common Market is such a reality regardless of the fact that conflicts exist between its individual members. It is an economic entity, and if we want to develop economic and trade relations with the West then we have to reckon with this reality. The agreement between CEMA and the EEC is the very first. It includes exchanges of information. It is thus a beginning, but very useful.

World Space Organization Proposed at UN Session

LD1606052388 Moscow TASS in English 2321 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 16 TASS—The Soviet Union has submitted the basic provisions of the charter of a world space organisation to the United Nations.

The aim of this new organisation is to establish broad international cooperation in the research and use of outer space exclusively in peaceful purposes, coordinate peaceful space efforts of countries and international organisations, ease the access of all countries to the space activity and its benefits, as well as to monitor the adherence to international agreements on the non-spread of the arms race into outer space.

Advancing a comprehensive programme of the countries' joint efforts in the peaceful exploration of outer space up to the year 2000, the Soviet Union was guided by intention to solve one of the priority tasks facing mankind: To prevent the arms race in outer space and launch large-scale international cooperation in its use for peaceful purposes in the interests of all mankind and each country and people taken separately, A.S. Piradov, head of the Soviet delegation to the session of the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, said here on Wednesday.

"We view the world space organisation as a centre to deal with practical development of the universal model of international space exploration. It is becoming more urgent to lay down a universal groundwork for cooperation of countries and ensure a comprehensive approach to the solution of the existing interrelated problems of socio-economic and scientific-technological development and disarmament from the point of view of mankind's international unity and interrelationship and integrity of the world and world processes", Piradov said.

The world space organisation does not suppose the nihilistic attitude toward the existing system of space agencies and organisations, or their replacement and elimination. It could coordinate its activities with other international organisations engaged in space research on the basis of cooperation accords or agreements.

The new space organisation will have the same status, aims, functions and structure as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), as a new type of organisation set up in the nuclear age, and whose activities have much to do with the research and use of outer space. The Soviet Union is ready to discuss seriously the establishment of the world space organisation.

The Soviet representative pointed out that the new organisation could also render real material and technological aid to developing countries.

Official Discusses CEMA-EEC Negotiations

LD1506205988 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—The joint declaration on establishing official relations between CMEA and EEC, which was initialled in Moscow and just endorsed at the session of the Council of Ministers of the European Community at the foreign ministers' level, has mirrored new thinking. The declaration is becoming an essential element in building a common European home, a TASS correspondent was told by Yevgeniy Plakhotniy, counsellor of the CMEA Secretariat.

The declaration is opening the way to broad economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the European nations and we share the intention placed on record in the statement by the foreign ministers of the EEC member countries to keep up the momentum in the development of the relations between CMEA and the Common Market, Yevgeniy Plakhotniy said.

As a member of the CMEA expert delegation, he said, I can say that it was no easy job to draw up the declaration. The flexible constructive approach of the countries of the socialist community to the resolution of the international problems has played no small role in ensuring the ultimate result. A maximum of good will and the wish to understand the partner's position was displayed, for example, by the socialist countries in examining the so-called territorial reservation concerning West Berlin. There too we proceeded from the realities in Europe. Nobody denied the economic ties established between West Berlin and the FRG and the EEC, nor called in question the special status as determined by the quadripartite agreement of September 3, 1971 according to which it is no part of the FRG and cannot be administered by it. Thus the sides approached step-by-step mutually-acceptable provisions of the new document, learning the mistakes of the past and wishing to develop relations worthy of the two international organizations.

Socialist UN Delegates on Disarmament Efforts

LD1506205388 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 15 TASS—Delegations of socialist countries to the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament appraised the implementation of decisions of the international community in the disarmament area of late.

The main result is that the menace of war has been rolled back in the past three years, says a working document published today. It was submitted to the session by the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Mongolia, Poland, USSR, Ukrainain Soviet Socialist Republic and Czechoslovakia. A direct threat of war with the participation of major powers has lessened,and the situation in the world has become steadier and more predictable. The prospect for curbing armaments has become more real. There is an opportunity to oppose the threat to peace from a broader social and political basis than earlier, to create the basis for the solution of global problems of humanity by joint efforts of the world community. What has been achieved is a starting point for the further joint actions in the bilateral, regional and multilateral respects, and means at the same time just initial steps on the road to disarmament. Bilateral and multilateral efforts should be mutually enriching and supplementing.

The document points to the changes for the better in the international arena, to the establishment of new political thinking, achievement of positive results in the area of disarmament mainly on a bilateral basis.

This has become possible as a result of such major breakthroughs in world politics as the Soviet-American summits. The coming into effect of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles concluded by the USSR and the USA has become a major practical result of applying new thinking to international politics, an event of historic importance in international affairs.

The conclusion of the treaty has been possible due to the efforts of many countries, anti-war movements and peace forces of all the continents, the delegations of the socialist countries noted.

Demichev Receives Swedish, American Lawyers
LD1306205588 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 13 TASS—Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Politburo and first vice president of the Presidium of the Politburo and first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, had a discussion in the Kremlin today with Stig Gustafsson, co-president of the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms and member of the Swedish Parliament, Aleksandr Sukharev, prosecutor-general of the USSR, and Peter Weiss, an American lawyer.

Demichev pointed to the important role of international law in regulating inter-state relations and strictly verifying compliance with international agreements and commitments.

He wished the lawyers' group, set up last April, success in its noble endeavour to establish a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

The visitors highly praised the results of the Moscow summit. They emphasised that the first step in destroying intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles should be followed by specific measures to reduce strategic offensive weapons, chemical and conventional arms.

United States & Canada

Senate Blamed for Obstructing Trade With Soviets

PM1506111588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jun 88 First Edition p 3

[Yu. Subbotin article: "The Moscow Meeting and American Business"]

[Excerpts] The American business world closely followed the progress of the Moscow summit. A purely human interest in an event on that scale is no doubt not alien to businessmen. And yet it is to be supposed that considerations of a practical nature occupied pride of place. Indeed Soviet-American rapprochement could deprive some people of a sizable part of their income from arms production. Others clearly hope to set up or substantially expand business ties with our country.

"I consider the Moscow summit meeting to be an exceptionally important event," said Ayno Letvel [name as published], adviser and director of cooperation with the Soviet Union for the well-known company, Otis Elevator. "We businessmen have an undoubted interest in further progress in relations between our countries. We hope that it will continue." [passage omitted]

"There are, of course, still difficulties," Mr Letvel acknowledged. "But they can be overcome. It is only a matter of time. And our company is ready for cooperation not for 1 year but for centuries."

Unfortunately, there are indeed still difficulties. These include our own inefficiency and tenacious bureaucratic hedging. There are also currency problems. But the main barrier remains on the other side of the ocean. Moreover, there are still enough people in the United States wanting to reinforce it.

"While President Reagan," THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, "was expressing his hope of expanding Soviet-American trade at the Moscow summit, the Congress was examining an amendment which would make it more difficult for the administration to reduce the existing obstacles to Soviet imports. The Senate has approved a proposal which is opposed by the administration and which sets higher standards in the sphere of human rights as an additional test for Moscow, which needs tariffs lowered to increase its exports to the United States."

The absence of most-favored-nation status—and its granting is made dependent by American legislators on Soviet "behavior"—continues to hinder the expansion of Soviet exports to the United States and makes our goods uncompetitive. American firms maintaining business relations with the USSR are also suffering as a result of this. Pepsico, for example, loses $15 million annually because of this.

Trade must be mutually beneficial. There are no altruists in the United States dreaming of doing us a favor to their own detriment. And this is perfectly clear to those sitting on Capitol Hill. They are likewise aware that trade abhors a vacuum, and that vacuum is eagerly being filled by American companies' West European and Japanese competitors. America is losing markets, revenue, and jobs—all in pursuance of some obession with organizing another "test" for Moscow, as if it had not emerged with honor from more serious trials.

U.S. Shipping New Combat Aircraft to Pakistan

LD1606101288 Moscow TASS in English 0931 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] New Delhi June 16 TASS—The United States agreed to deliver one more batch of F-16 fighter-bombers to Pakistan in addition to 40-odd such aircraft already shipped to Islamabad, a UNI [UNITED NEWS OF INDIA] correspondent reports from Washington. The transfer of this batch of combat aircraft is delayed, however, because Pakistan insists that they be equipped with the latest electronic equipment now used in American F-16-C fighter-bombers.

Starting from 1954, that is, since Pakistan joined the anti-communist alliance set up by Washington, the United States has been intensively arming its protege which fulfils the role of the Pentagon henchman in carrying out U.S. strategic designs in South Asia. In the period between 1954-1965, the United States supplied Pakistan with two billion dollars worth of weapons, among them 30 B-57 bombers, twenty F-104 fighters, one hundred and twenty F-86 fighters, a submarine, a destroyer and several other warships, seven hundred M-47 and M-48 tanks and the same number of artillery pieces.

In 1970, Islamabad took delivery from the United States another large batch of military hardware, including 300 armoured personnel carriers, another seven B-57 bombers and eighteen F-104 fighters. In 1975, the United States shipped to Islamabad four destroyers, six training planes, a large amount of missiles, torpedoes and other military hardware.

In 1981, the United States set aside 3.2 billion dollars in military aid to the Zia ul-Haq regime, thanks to which the Pakistani military substantially replenished its arsenals with advanced tanks, aircraft, helicopter gunships, ships and missiles.

In December 1987, the United States allocated another 4.02 billion dollars in military and economic aid package to Pakistan. Americans have already sanctioned the delivery of 300 M-1 tanks out of 300 such tanks requested from the United States by Islamabad. Inspired by the generosity of their overseas benefactors, Pakistani generals now file new applications for military hardware.

Dobrynin Meets With U.S. Communist Leader

LD1506224688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Comrade Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, on 15 June met with Gus Hall, national chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, who is passing through the USSR.

The talks were held in a spirit of comradely mutual understanding, which is characteristic for mutual relations between the CPSU and the Communist Party of the United States. They discussed basic questions of the current world development, especially the urgent necessity of making further progress toward improving Soviet-U.S. relations. The Moscow meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan was an important stage in these relations.

Gus Hall underlined the success of the Soviet leadership's policy of new thinking, which is meeting with a growing response in the broad strata of the U.S. population and is eroding the Soviet Union's image as an enemy.

On behalf of the U.S. Communists, Gus Hall wished success to the upcoming 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Dukakis Views Foreign Policy at Atlantic Council

PM1606104588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Speech by M. Dukakis"]

[Text] Washington, 15 Jun—Michael Dukakis, a candidate for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, spoke Tuesday at the session of the Atlantic Council—an influential public organization created to promote U.S. aims and policy on NATO—which has ended here. THE WASHINGTON POST described his speech as "the Democratic Party's draft program on foreign policy issues."

The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, he said, which reduces nuclear arsenals for the first time in history, enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of Americans. The United States and NATO must not simply react to the Soviet initiatives but also put forward initiatives themselves. It is essential, he said, to elaborate a coordinated plan aimed at reversing the arms race. We must achieve a radical, mutual reduction of strategic arms subject to monitoring just as we must achieve the weakening of the threat of war in Europe.

Dukakis highly assessed the Soviet-U.S. summit meetings, noting that it would be "desirable to hold them annually, on a regular basis." We must conduct frank talks with the Soviet Union on the subject of military doctrines, the structure of the armed forces, and methods of monitoring. We must continue work with the Warsaw Pact on the quest for ways of eliminating the threat of chemical war not only in Europe but also throughout the world."

At the same time, the contender for the post of U.S. president asserted that "a tough and realistic approach" must be retained toward the Soviet Union. We continue to have fundamental differences with the Soviet Union, he pointed out. "We must make it clearly understood that improving relations with the Soviet Union will depend on their progress in the human rights field."

Latvian Foreign Minister on Reagan Remarks

LD1506182688 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Riga June 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Silins:

In keeping with the tradition of the White House, U.S. President Ronald Reagan has once again undertaken the role of a preacher and instructor of the Soviet Baltic peoples. The proclamation signed by him on June 14 on the occasion of the so-called Baltic Freedom Day claims among other things that America has never recognised the entry of the Baltic republics into the USSR and will never recognise that.

"This statement by the President is above all at variance with the historical facts", a TASS correspondent was told by Soviet Latvia's Minister of Foreign Affairs Leonard Bartkevic. He recalled that when in June 1940 "the people of Latvia confirmed their choice of socialism, threw down the Ulmanis dictatorship, the plenipotentiary representatives of practically all the states accredited in Riga, including of the USA and Britain, recognised and asserted their respect to Professor Avgust Kirhenstein, the head of the people's government." It was then, the minister said, that democratic elections were held to the people's sejm, as a result of which almost 98 percent of the electorate voted for the candidates of the bloc of the working people. The decision of the sejm on Latvia's joining of the USSR was also unanimous.

This expression of will by the whole people is rooted in the common destinies of the Russian and Latvian peoples borne of the many centuries old history of economic and cultural ties. Leonard Bartkevic recalled the statement by Latvia's most loved poet Jan Rainis, which became the watchword of the Lettish Red infantrymen way back in November 1917—"Free Latvia in Free Russia". It is precisely since those days that the working people of Latvia count their statehood and independence.

When one reads the Washington proclamation, the minister continued, there is an impression that its authors think in terms of the bourgeois politicians who drowned in blood Soviet power in Latvia in the spring of 1919.

The proclamation claims that despite the drive for more democracy and glasnost in the Soviet Union the inhabitants of the Soviet Baltic republics are as before imprisoned, expelled and victimized for daring to protest against the continuing suppressions of their national independence and culture. The President put his signature under that statement, Bartkevic said, on the very same day when some 10,000 inhabitants of Riga were freely discussing the most burning problems of the republic at a rally in tribute to the memory of the victims of Stalin's repressions. Yes, they were sharply criticizing bureaucrats from the government machinery, but they voted with both their hands for Gorbachev's new policy—of perestroyka, the drive for more democracy and glasnost.

Ukraine Literary Symposium Held With U.S.

AU1506194188 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 7 Jun 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "A Meeting With American Literary Critics"]

[Text] The theme of a Soviet-American symposium that opened in Kiev on 6 June was: "Ancient Ukrainian literature and the formation of the new Ukrainian literature." The symposium was organized by the T.H. Shevchenko Literary Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. Attended by prominent scientists, literary critics, and writers from Kiev and Moscow, from Harvard and Rutgers Universities in the United States, and the University of Toronto in Canada, it examined problems concerning the formation of Ukrainian literature, its development, and relations with literature in other countries.

"This meeting with American colleagues is another manifestation of the new thinking, of the strengthening links between the two great powers," said V.M. Rusanivskyy, member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and academician-secretary of the Department of Literature, Language, and Art Criticism of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. "The objective of our symposium is to continue the conversation started last year in Harvard on the contribution made by Ukrainian literature and culture to the spiritual life of peoples in the world. Our joint research may bring us closer to the cognition of this problem. The future of mankind depends on its memory of itself, on the knowledge of its history and culture. We now have the opportunity to study and evaluate our history and the development of the literary process in the Ukraine in a more objective, more accurate, and complete way."

The symposium program included meetings with the scientists of the T.H. Shevchenko Literary Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and with the republic's writers, and an inspection of historical and cultural monuments in Kiev and Chernigov. After its Kiev proceedings, the symposium will continue in Lvov from 12 to 15 June.

Gorbachev Congratulates Canadian Communists

PM1506130588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jun 88 Second Edition p1

[Message of congratulations from M.S. Gorbachev to Canadian Communist Party leaders]

[Text] To Comrade George Hewison, general secretary of the Canadian Communist Party, and Comrade William Kashtan, chairman of the Canadian Communist Party Central Committee.

Dear Comrades George Hewison and William Kashtan!

Please accept cordial congratulations on your election as general secretary and chairman of the Canadian Communist Party Central Committee.

I wish you and all Canadian Communists successful, fruitful activity in the name of establishing peaceful ideals, democracy, and socialism and in the interests of developing friendly relations between our countries' peoples.

With comradely greetings,

M. Gorbachev.

China

Titarenko Elaborates on Soviet, Chinese Reform

OW1506132888 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Dear listeners, yesterday we broadcast a talk by Titarenko, director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, entitled "The Common Points and Differences of Economic Reforms in the Soviet Union and China." By way of comparison and analysis, Titarenko elaborated on the principles on which reforms in the two nations are based and the missions of these reforms. Now please listen to the second part of the talk:

Titarenko points out: The theoretical basis of the current reform in China is not, as is asserted by the West, to deviate from socialism in favor of capitalist management practices; rather, the theoretical basis of Chinese reform can be epitomized by the slogan often used by Gorbachev, that is, more democracy and more socialism. Undoubtedly, we must not vacillate in upholding the principle of letting the system of public ownership occupy a dominant position. Comrades all over China must stress this point. However, management systems based on public ownership are varied. Large state-owned enterprises may transfer management authority to individuals, a group of individuals, or a joint-stock company. It is even permissable to set up joint-venture enterprises through the introduction of foreign capital. In practice, China has already discarded the original principle requiring the Chinese side to retain a majority control of

shares. The Chinese hold that as public ownership remains predominant, the state will not lose control even if a few enterprises are entirely controlled by foreign businessmen. They believe there is nothing wrong with this. It goes without saying that such an attitude is somewhat different from the methods adopted by us in economic reform. However, this does not mean that there is nothing in their methods that we cannot use. In my opinion, there is much to refer to in China's experience in developing the coastal regions, where conditions for foreign investment are good.

RENMIN RIBAO pointed out not long ago that China has actually utilized $7,570 million, the bulk of which was invested in the coastal region. This is a very important factor. It has helped accelerate the pace of national economic development. Another important factor is that workers are able to learn the latest technology and modern management know-how in joint-venture enterprises and such enterprises are able to acquire the foreign exchange needed by the state through the export of finished products. To be objective, not all such enterprises today are able to make contributions as far as earning foreign exchange is concerned. On this question, a contradiction of interests between foreign businessmen and the Chinese will often arise. The capitalists want to sell their products in the Chinese domestic market while the Chinese want to take advantage of [words indistinct] and sell their products abroad. On this question, a tug-of-war, as a Chinese economist put it, is often inevitable. However, what is important is that they will constantly gain new experience in this regard. I believe that our economists should earnestly study China's reform experience and use it as a reference.

Rogachev, PRC Deputy Foreign Minister Meet

PM1506134588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A meeting has taken place in Beijing between I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Tian Zengpei, PRC deputy foreign minister, during which questions were discussed connected with fulfilling the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

The Chinese representative was informed that the Soviet and Afghan sides are doing everything within their power to see through the settlement of the situation in Afghanistan. They expect the same responsible approach from the United States and Pakistan which, above all, requires putting a halt to the obvious and clear violations by Pakistan of the Geneva agreements.

Tian Zengpei, noting that the PRC and the Soviet Union disagree on the Afghan question, stated the necessity of observing the agreements as soon as they are signed.

PRC Paper Stresses Democracy-Stability Link

PM1506140988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "RENMIN RIBAO Article"]

[Text] Beijing, 10 Jun—China needs a situation of stability and cohesion to successfully implement the reform, modernize the country, and achieve the set goals, a commentator's article in the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, organ of the CPC Central Committee, states. The reform in the PRC has now entered a key stage. The most urgent and, at the same time, the most complex tasks at this stage are implementation of the price reform and the wage reform.

Accumulated experience attests, the newspaper writes, that the timely removal of the "leftist" influence and the resolute preservation of political stability and cohesion are necessary conditions for achieving that aim.

Touching on the question of the correlation between stability and democracy, RENMIN RIBAO points out that "democracy must accord with the interests of stability and cohesion and the interests of the country's modernization" and "must not lose touch with the law and basic principles or harm stability and cohesion." The article calls for resolute opposition to "so-called democracy which harms the political situation of stability and cohesion and undermines it."

Observers link the RENMIN RIBAO commentary with the student unrest that has occurred at Beijing University in recent days. Writing about this on Thursday, the newspaper BEIJING RIBAO said that a group of people at the university is taking advantage of the recent killing by hooligans of a postgraduate student of that higher educational institution to incite riots and is trying to impart a political nature to a criminal matter. The purpose of such actions, BEIJING RIBAO emphasized, is to groundlessly deny the successes of the 10-year reform and slow down the process of transformations.

Chinese Army Introduces Civilian Cadres

PM1506105188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jun 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Reform in Chinese Armed Forces"]

[Text] Beijing, 8 Jun—A large group of Chinese Army officers has been transferred to civilian cadre status. RENMIN RIBAO writes that a system of civilian cadre personnel is being introduced into the country's Armed Forces for the first time. After the publication of special provisional statutes, this innovation has been introduced experimentally at military academies and army science and medical establishments. The transformations mainly apply to technical specialists. They will be treated as army personnel and will enjoy equal rights with career officers; however, they will not be given military ranks. RENMIN RIBAO cites the remark of a spokesman for

the Chinese Army General Political Department who stressed that the introduction of the institution of civilian cadre personnel is an important reform in the Chinese Armed Forces cadre system.

Latest Soviet Carrier Rocket at Beijing Exhibit

OW1606075288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Text] Today, we will continue to introduce the Soviet scientific and technological exhibition which will be held in Beijing in November this year. It is one of the Soviet Science and Technology Month activities to be held in China. Over 50 Soviet departments will participate in the event. Some 2,500 products will be on display. Most of these products are of the most advanced level, and many of them do not exist anywhere else in the world. It will be the largest Soviet exhibition in China in a quarter of a century. It is aimed at introducing Soviet science and technology of both today and tomorrow and is sure to attract the attention of experts. Let us take space exploration as an example: The exhibition will widely introduce the Soviet space exploration program. A most salient feature of the event will be the exhibition of a full-scale model of the latest Soviet carrier rocket, the Energiya carrier rocket.

Dear friends, here now is an introduction to this rocket by station reporter (Fenochistov):

Friends, before talking about the Energiya carrier rocket, let us briefly review the history of Soviet rocketry. The first Soviet rocket was built on the basis of intercontinental ballistic missiles. Sputnik, the world's first man-made earth satellite, weighed about 84 kg and was launched on 4 October 1957. After that, the Vostok and Soyuz made their appearances. In 1965, the multistage Proton rocket was used to launch spaceships. No other rocket in the world can compare with the multistage Proton rocket, which can send a payload of over 20 tons into space. The Mir complex now in space was launched by the multistage Proton rocket.

However, science and technology do not stand still. Space exploration calls for the establishment of large complexes in space. Therefore, we need a generation of new carrier rockets. They should be dependable, very powerful, and economical as well. It is a very complex task, but an important step was taken toward this goal in May 1987 when the new, all-powerful Energiya rocket was used for the first time on a trial basis. It can send a payload of over 100 tons into orbit. Just think, the first satellite launched by the Soviet Union in 1957 weighed less than 84 kg. Now, the new rocket is 60 meters long with a maximum diameter of 20 meters; it is equipped with the world's most powerful liquid-fuel booster. The Energiya rocket differs from other carrier rockets not only in its unprecedented power but also in its many features which have been incorporated for the first time. It is the most powerful tool for transporting materials into space and providing unlimited room for space exploration.

The developers and manufacturers of the new rocket point out that the new rocket can be used to open up broad prospects for the peaceful exploration of space and establish permanent space stations from which spacecraft can be launched for the exploration of outer space. Dear listeners, when you visit the Soviet scientific and technological exhibition, we are sure you will better understand this situation. The exhibition will be held in Beijing next November. Every one of you is invited to the exhibition.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Cooperation With U.S. Military Viewed

PM1406152388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 Second Edition p 7

[PRAVDA political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Viewpoint": "Yen for the Pentagon"]

[Text] "We do not demand that Japan arm itself more actively; we want it to be more generous with its purse strings"—that is how one can formulate the essence of the new U.S. approach toward the problems of military cooperation with Japan. This change of emphasis made itself known during U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci's recent visit to Tokyo, although it had manifested itself during the January trip to Washington by Kawara, chief of the Japanese National Defense Agency.

For many years the Pacific allies acted according to an established plan. Washington would demand a speedier buildup in military potential. Tokyo would give in with supposed reluctance (how, they would say, can you go against the main purchaser of Japanese commodities). The public was reassured by the fact that the military budget allegedly remained firm at 1 percent of the GNP. But now that this ceiling has been smashed and the size of the Japanese economy has surpassed all capitalist countries apart from the United States and outstripped its competitors in terms of the rate of its development, there has been a shift from quantity to quality, as it were. Even spending less than 1.5 percent of the GNP on defense (that is approximately $30 billion) Japan ranks third in the world in terms of the level of its military expenditure.

Japan's military potential, the newspaper MAINICHI notes, has gradually neared a level which is beginning to provoke disquiet in the United States. This is causing Washington to develop a new approach toward forms of cooperation with Tokyo. The Japanese are told that in light of the country's postwar Constitution, it will even be "more suitable" for them to fulfill a role in alliance policy in such indirect forms as financial participation in U.S. military-political actions, strategic assistance to

friendly regimes, and so forth. "If Japan promotes the economic well being and consequently the political stability of the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, and Central America, it will thus make a significant contribution to Western collective security," Z. Brezinski, former presidential national security adviser, states.

The "indirect support" for U.S. Armed Forces' operations in the Persian Gulf was an example of this new approach. Unlike a number of NATO countries which sent warships there, Japan undertook the additional burden of maintaining the U.S. military bases on its territory. This year the treasury has assigned $2.5 billion for this. The salaries of 20,000 or so Japanese workers at the bases will now be paid not by Washington but by Tokyo. Carlucci and Kawara came to an agreement on this at the meeting in January.

This time the heads of the two countries' military departments once again discussed the question of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces' rear provisioning. It has been decided to elaborate a system for transferring U.S. troops across the ocean in the event of an "emergency" and to create depots for heavy combat gear and equipement in advance for this purpose (primarily on Hokkaido). The Japanese side must not only provide the sites but must also pay the construction costs of these facilities. This is not the first time that the Pentagon has exacted this kind of "tribute" from its allies. The Japanese have had to reequip the Misawa air base at their own expense so that it can harbor U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers. The United States recently managed to get NATO to agree to take on the cost of redeploying F-16's from Spain to Italy.

It is not the first time that Washington has solicited strategic aid from Tokyo for friendly regimes. Under U.S. pressure, Nakasone, the previous Japanese prime minister, once granted South Korea preferential loans and credits worth $4 billion. Yet another $4 billion was promised to Latin America. But now money—and big money at that—is urgently required to preserve the Pentagon's two largest military bases outside the United States. It is a question of the facilities on the Philippines, whose term of use is coming to an end. Referring to the growth of antinuclear sentiments, official Manila circles indicate that they will agree to extend their lease only if the United States sharply cuts the Philippine foreign debt.

At the talks between Carlucci and Kawara, the Americans urged Japan to "take on the additional burden of ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific region." Washington wants Tokyo to initiate a multilateral "mini-Marshall Plan" for the Philippines at the upcoming Toronto meeting of the "Big Seven." The idea is for the United States' main allies—from Japan and South Korea in Asia to the FRG in Europe—together to rake up $10 billion to give the Phillipines over 5 years and thus help the Pentagon preserve strategically important positions at the junction of the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

While inciting Tokyo to loosen its purse strings and be, as it were, the paymaster for U.S. neoglobalist policy, Washington is by no means abandoning traditional forms of U.S.-Japanese military cooperation. During Carlucci's visit, talks continued on cooperation between the two countries' armed forces in conflict conditions, the joint development of a new fighter for the "Self-Defense Forces," and the exchange of military technologies. Given that Carlucci accompanied the U.S. President to Moscow prior to his trip to the Far East, talk turned to the results of the fourth U.S.-Soviet meeting. His interlocutors were above all interested in whether there had been an improvement on the proolem of sea-launched cruise missiles, for U.S. 7th Fleet ships equipped with Tomahawk missiles constantly put in at Japanese ports. The myth that Tokyo retains a belief in the "three non-nuclear principles" only holds out owing to the Americans' refusal to confirm or deny that these ships are carrying nuclear weapons. That is why Carlucci announced, first of all, that this practice will be retained in the future for, in the opinion of the United States, sea-launched cruise missiles are allegedly not liable to verification.

In Tokyo and later in Seoul, Carlucci tried to enlist the allies in strengthening Pentagon positions in the Far East by affirming the growth of the "Soviet military threat." But it is at precisely this time that the proposal from the USSR was heard from the rostrum at the United Nations to completely eliminate the presence of foreign troops and military bases on other countries' territories by the year 2000. So who's threatening whom, and who is encroaching on the security of others?

Katushev Meets With Mitsubishi Chairman Miura

OW1506111488 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] On 13 June, Soviet Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Katushev met with Miura, vice chairman of the Japan-Soviet Economic Cooperation Committee and chairman of Mitsubishi Corporation. During the meeting, questions concerning the development of trade and economic relations between Japan and the USSR and Mitsubishi Corporation's participation in this field were discussed.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Moscow Praises SRV's Troop Pullout Promise

BK1606041088 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] By the end of June, 40,000 Vietnamese volunteer combatants will have left Cambodia for home. This was said in Hanoi by Comrade Bui Tin, deputy editor in chief of the central paper NHAN DAN. Our commentator Podorov writes:

Only 20 days ago the Cambodian and Vietnamese Governments proclaimed their joint decision to repatriate up to half of the Vietnamese volunteer forces currently stationed in Cambodia by the end of this year. This means the repatriation of 50,000 Vietnamese combatants. This decision is already bearing fruit. Four-fifths of the soldiers to be repatriated will leave Cambodia this month; in other words, before 30 June.

In my view, two circumstances should be noted at this point. First, Vietnam has reduced stage by stage the number of its volunteer forces in Cambodia by meticulously implementing a plan set forth earlier. In this manner, Vietnam is responding to various parties interested in finding a political solution to the Cambodian problem who have been demanding the elimination of Vietnam's military presence in the PRK. As a result of the step jointly taken by the SRV and the PRK Governments, the number of Vietnamese volunteer troops in Cambodia will be reduced by the end of June to 60,000; and by the end of this year to 50,000. The remaining Vietnamese units will be under the command of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces [KPRAF]. The headquarters of the Vietnamese volunteer forces will be moved to southern Vietnam.

The other circumstance is purely political. By expressing their goodwill, Vietnam and Cambodia are creating extremely favorable conditions for the success of the forthcoming meeting in Jakarta. A political solution to the Cambodian problem will be reexamined at this meeting. The meeting in the Indonesian capital will be held in two stages. The four Cambodian parties will meet in the first stage: the PRK Government and the three opposing parties. In the second stage, the discussion of the Cambodian problem will be at the international level. In addition to the above four parties, Vietnam, Laos, Indonesia, and Thailand will also be present.

In our view, in this atmosphere, the fact that up to 40,000 Vietnamese combatants will be pulled out from Cambodia this month will be seen as ample evidence of the peace-loving policy of the Indochinese countries and of their determination to settle the Cambodian issue peacefully. The fact that this meeting will actually take place in Jakarta shows that people are already paying attention to this evidence.

SRV Communique on Pullout

LD1506142588 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Hanoi June 15 TASS—The SRV National Defence Ministry has issued today an official communique saying that in conformity with the agreement between the Governments of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea of May 26 this year the withdrawal of the command of the Vietnamese volunteers and units ensuring the support for the activities of the command, logistical and technical services will be carried in the current month.

Thus, in particular, the command and staff establishments are to be withdrawn from the Cambodian territory on June 30. The Vietnamese volunteers remaining in the People's Republic of Kampuchea will be placed under the Cambodian military command, the communique says.

Further on Pullout

LD1506191888 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Pnom Penh June 15 TASS—The supreme command of units of Vietnamese volunteers in Kampuchea and its auxiliary units will leave the People's Republic of Kampuchea this June. This is said in a communique of Kampuchea's Defence Ministry circulated here. The withdrawal will be carried out in accordance with the decision of the Governments of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam about the return home this year of 50,000 servicemen from among Vietnamese volunteers staying in Kampuchea, the document says.

The official ceremony of the withdrawal of the Vietnamese command will be held in Pnom Penh on June 30. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is prepared to admit representatives of governments, countries, international organisations and all those wishing to attend the ceremony, the communique says.

Demichev Receives Lao Envoy's Credentials

PM1506130788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Presentation of Credentials"]

[Text] On 9 June in the Kremlin Khamphong Phanvongsao, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], presented his credentials to P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

While presenting his credentials the ambassador said that the friendly ties between our parties are at the heart of the good traditions of Lao-Soviet relations. Lao-Soviet summit meetings, diverse contacts, and extensive delegation exchanges promote further growth in mutual understanding between the LPDR and the USSR and the development of relations of solidarity and cooperation between our countries. The processes of restructuring have enriched our relations with the quest for new forms of effective cooperation in the spirit of fraternity and internationalism.

The ambassador stated that people in Laos fully support the USSR's foreign policy aimed at ensuring peace and international security and its efforts as regards the elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction and the building of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. The

Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] and the LPDR Government and people highly assess the results of the Soviet-U.S. Moscow summit and cordially welcome the entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as a constructive step toward general and complete disarmament.

P.N. Demichev expressed gratitude for the warm words and kind wishes regarding our country, the CPSU, and the Soviet people and in turn conveyed best wishes for success from the Soviet leadership to the party and state leaders and friendly people of Laos.

You, he said, are embarking on the performance of your duties as ambassador to the USSR at a time when profound changes and an all-embracing process of revolutionary transformations are under way in our country. The 19th all-union party conference, at which the results of the first years of restructuring will be summed up and the paths for its further development outlined, will be a most important event.

People in our country have a feeling of respect and sympathy for the fraternal people of Laos. The level of relations between our countries evokes profound satisfaction. The close comradely ties and collaboration between the CPSU and the LPRP and the regular meetings between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and K. Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers, are of crucial importance for the strengthening and further deepening of bilateral relations.

The international situation cannot be normalized without the removal of conflicts in various regions of the planet. The signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and the recent SRV and PRK initiative regarding the withdrawal of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia in 1988 will help strengthen peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region, eliminate seats of tension there, and develop good-neighborly relations.

The Soviet Union and Laos are united in the struggle to transform Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone of peace and stability. We welcome the efforts of Lao friends to normalize relations with the PRC and Thailand and settle contentious border questions by political means at the negotiating table.

In the course of the conversation, which took place in a friendly, comradely atmosphere, the further development of Soviet-Lao relations and ways to boost the effectiveness of USSR-Laos trade and economic ties were also touched upon.

Near East & South Asia

PRAVDA Editorial on Afghan Accords Violation

PM1506170988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Jun 88 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Observing the Geneva Accords, Which Lend Powerful Impetus to the Solution of Regional Conflicts"]

[Text] The Near East, Southern Africa, Central America, the Persian Gulf, Kampuchea.... Even the enumeration of "hot spots," those overt seats of tension, gives rise to serious alarm and concern. According to the calculations of Washington's "World Priorities" Research Institute, there are now some 25 wars blazing in the world. The planet is literally suffocating with the bloody wounds of regional conflicts. They entail untold misfortunes and sufferings for the peoples directly involved in them and threaten peace throughout the world.

It is therefore no accident that such attention has been riveted on the implementation of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. Ensuring the most favorable possible external conditions for eliminating one of the most dangerous and bloodiest clashes, they provide the key to a settlement of conflict situations. In that sense the quest for peace in Afghanistan has become a kind of political laboratory. The study and analysis of the Geneva process, of the accords which have been reached, of their implementation, and of the experience, both positive and negative, which has been accumulated are of importance for unblocking other regional conflicts. Of course, each of them has its own features and causes, its own nature, and its own distribution of forces. But success in resolving them depends largely on a fundamental common approach. And, as the Geneva accords have shown, this approach is ensured within the framework of the new political thinking placed at the basis of Soviet foreign policy.

The practice of recent decades and the entire history of the development of events around Afghanistan show the perniciousness and futility of attempts to find a solution to conflicts by military means. Armed interference in Afghan affairs and Pakistan's transformation into a bridgehead of aggression have failed to produce the results on which the organizers of the undeclared war were counting. This has all led merely to the prolongation of the conflict situation.

The Afghan experience has shown quite obviously that the only correct path is the search for a political situation. It was necessary to create an international law situation around the seat of the conflict which would provide no opportunity for combustible material to enter from outside, would guarantee that this seat would not spread to other countries and regions, and would provide the people themselves and them alone with the opportunity for sociopolitical choice without outside interference. That is the approach which was put at the basis of the settlement around Afghanistan.

The breakthrough in resolving the Afghan problem became possible thanks to the political will of the Soviet and Afghan leadership and concentrated diplomatic efforts. You only have to recall what an important part was played by the statements by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Afghan President Najibullah on 8 February this year and by their April meeting in Tashkent.

The signing of the agreements on Afghanistan created a precedent which in terms of its significance goes beyond the framework of this particular problem. It is the first instance of the Soviet Union and the United States, together with the specific participants in the conflict, signing agreements which open the way to the conflict's political settlement. An example of constructive collaboration was set. The USSR and the United States are the guarantors of the fulfillment of the Geneva accords. This became possible as a result of the expanding dialogue between the two countries on problems connected with ensuring peace on the planet. Sensible, realistic cooperation can thus make a substantial constructive contribution to unblocking regional conflict situations although, of course, their solution cannot be sought solely at the Soviet-U.S. conference table.

The attainment of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan with the participation in this process of the UN secretary general and his personal representative open up great potential opportunities for this international organization in settling regional and other conflicts. The United Nation's efforts as mediator helped to bring the sides' positions closer and to elaborate coordinated decisions. The United Nations demonstrated its effectiveness and its ability to fulfill the lofty functions invested in it by the international community.

And so there is clear evidence of success, and the consolidation and development of this success could favorably influence the political climate throughout the world. The planet's people link the settlement of regional conflicts with their hopes that the diverse obstacles which hamper the establishment of an atmosphere of confidence, mutual understanding, friendship, and fruitful cooperation between states will be removed. This is why today, in the course of the implementation of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, exceptional importance is attached to the strict fulfillment by each side of the commitments it has assumed.

By carrying out the withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan within the set timetable, the Soviet Union is demonstrating its resolve to fully comply with the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements. The same can be said of the Afghan Government, which is doing everything incumbent on it to end the fratricidal bloodshed. The Afghan leadership is displaying a truly national approach in its endeavor to create a mechanism for governing the country with the participation of all the forces without exception which are genuinely concerned for its fate, a mechanism which would be in keeping with the traditions and aspirations of the Afghan people.

However, along with optimism, the situation around Afghanistan is also causing serious alarm. It is impermissible that while one side is fulfilling its obligations, the other side should crudely flout them. Yet this is what is happening.

The facts indicate that, despite the obligations assumed and the assurances given, Islamabad is not fully abiding by the Geneva agreements it has signed. Pakistani territory continues to be used to accommodate the armed formations of the Afghan opposition and its forward-based dumps at which various types of arms are arriving from foreign states.

In these circumstances it is difficult to understand Washington's position. The United States is clearly forgetting that, together with the Soviet Union, it bears a special responsibility. It is a guarantor of the Geneva accords, a guarantor of their implementation, and it is obliged to exert its influence on the Pakistani authorities in this spirit. There is no justification—nor can there be any—for the flagrant violations of the Geneva agreements which impose precise obligations on the participants.

The political settlement around Afghanistan has shown that mankind possesses the real forces and potential to rid itself of the bleeding wounds on the planet's body within the foreseeable future. This chance must not be missed.

Pakistani 'Treachery' Cited on Afghan Accords

PM1506153388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 88 First Edition p 5

[V. Shurygin "Rejoinder": "Treachery"]

[Text] This is what you call a violation of adopted pledges. And this is the word I would like to use to describe the Pakistani leadership's present stand with regard to a political settlement around Afghanistan.

President Ziaul Haq declared in an interview with the U.S. magazine INSIGHT that the agreements reached in Geneva, under which the Soviet Union agreed to withdraw from Afghanistan, are "nothing but a fig leaf." The struggle for freedom in Afghanistan is not yet over, he continued, and the Afghan rebels will continue to receive the necessary Pakistani and U.S. support. And yet it was only recently, on 15 April this year, addressing journalists in his palace, that Ziaul Haq promised that Pakistan would do everything possible to fulfill the Geneva agreements. As we see, these "possibilities" have proved nonexistent.

The Pakistani president's present revelations explain why Pakistani territory is still being used today to house the Afghan opposition's staffs and armed formations, as well as forward-based dumps to which various kinds of arms are delivered from abroad for subsequent forwarding to Afghanistan. These statements also shed light on Ziaul Haq's reshuffling of the country's leadership and the removal from their posts of figures who deem it necessary for Islamabad to observe the Geneva accords, such as former Prime Minister M.K. Junejo and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Z. Noorani, for example.

All this means that Ziaul Haq really considers the Geneva agreements just a fig leaf to cover the continuing policy of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs with a view to bringing into the leadership in Kabul extremist opposition leaders to his own liking from among the "Peshawar Seven." Need it be said that such a policy runs fundamentally counter to the spirit and letter of the documents signed in Geneva by Pakistani Government representatives?

Of course, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan will draw conclusions from all this and take appropriate measures. By trying to impose its will on the Afghan people and interfering unceremoniously in its neighbor's internal affairs, the Pakistani leadership is assuming a grave responsibility if, as a result of its actions, the Geneva agreements, which have received broad approval in the world, are not implemented.

Afghan Foreign Ministry Submits Protest 13 Jun

LD1306165988 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 13 TASS—A note of Afghanistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs was handed over to a group of United Nations observers in Kabul today. The note indicates concrete facts of the violation of the Geneva accords by the Pakistani side. Besides that, the BAKHTAR News Agency emphasises, the note contains the demand that facts of the violations of the accords be thoroughly investigated and the results be reported to the Afghan Government and the personal representative of the United Nations secretary-general.

On the same day the United Nations observers were handed over another note of the Foreign Ministry, expressing protest against the actions of the Pakistani Administration with regard to Afghan refugees striving to return home.

Gromov Cited on Progress of Afghan Withdrawal

LD1506171688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] One month after the beginning of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, here is an update report by our correspondents:

[Begin videorecording of report by M. Leshchinskiy and B. Romanenko, identified by caption] [Leshchinskiy] On the outskirts of Kabul the headquarters of the limited contingent of our troops in Afghanistan is operating. Information is constantly coming in to the headquarters from all Soviet garrisons still remaining in this land. It efficiently places the situation on the map, processes intelligence data, and makes the schedules and routes for the latest units and formations getting ready to withdraw to the border more precise. [video shows aerial view of landscape, hill in distance, exterior of building, scenes inside operations room, with soldiers plotting on maps and making use of a video display terminal]

Boris Vsevolodovich Gromov [Soviet commander in Afghanistan], you can count the days until you are in Moscow as a delegate to the 19th party conference, where you will be taking part in its work. But, as commander of the limited contingent of our troops in Afghanistan, you will be asked many questions, among which the main one will be: How is the withdrawal of Soviet troops going. Can you, perhaps, give an answer to that question?

[Gromov] I must report that the plan for withdrawal for the first month has been fully executed. The troops carried out the journey to Soviet territory in an organized way and, most importantly, without losses, although there were attempted attacks on our Soviet troops, especially those who were ensuring the withdrawal of troops in the areas of Sarowbi, Baraki, Ghazni, and Mir Bacheh Kowt. In the month since 15 May I must note that Pakistan has continued to violate the Geneva agreements. In what way? First, in the fact that the leadership of the Alliance of Seven continues to exist and to actively function on the territory of Pakistan. They are continuing to operate in the refugee camps, and to operate actively.

[Leshchinskiy] From which the terrorists are recruited?

[Gromov] Fighters and terrorists are recruited there. During that month, the number of armed rebels coming to the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan has increased by almost 9,000. The active transfer of weapons and ammunition, primarily from the Pakistani provinces bordering the Republic of Afghanistan, continues and the Administration of Pakistan is placing great obstacles in the way of the return of refugees from Pakistan to their homeland. [video shows Leshchinskiy interviewing Gromov standing by a map of Afghanistan, to which Gromov points during the interview] [end recording]

UN Observer Welcomes Soviet, Afghan Support

PM1506082988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent D. Meshchaninov report under the rubric "Notes Apropos": "R. Helminen: Complying With Obligations"]

[Text] Kabul—General Rauli Helminen, head of the UN observer group monitoring compliance with the Geneva agreements, gave a brief news conference at the capital's airport prior to his departure for Pakistan. Answering questions from Afghan and foreign journalists, he said in part:

First of all, I would like to note that the UN observer group enjoys the constant assistance and support of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan. All the questions that have arisen have been resolved swiftly, taking account of all our wishes. In short, we have not encountered any problems here.

The command of the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan has also assisted us in every way in the fulfillment of our functions. We are getting all the necessary information from the Soviet military. In addition, groups of observers are recording the movement of columns and their crossing of the Afghan-Soviet border. The withdrawal of Soviet units from Afghanistan is proceeding without disruption, strictly according to timetable.

Naturally, our functions include not only observing the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, but also monitoring noninterference in internal affairs by countries involved in the conflict. As is known, we have already received 15 notes from the Afghan leadership citing details of Geneva accord violations by Pakistan.

These details are being studied locally. In the near future we will submit our conclusions to UN headquarters. I would like to emphasize that all questions relating to the implementation of the Geneva accords must be discussed between the interested parties and the United Nations on a strictly confidential basis.

The fate of the political settlement in and around Afghanistan, R. Helminen said in conclusion, will depend entirely on the willingness and ability of the sides involved in the conflict to comply scrupulously and to the letter with all the obligations which they have accepted under the Geneva agreements. With their effective assistance, the UN observer group will be able to fulfill the tasks with which it has been entrusted.

Afghan Withdrawal Marred by Armed Conflicts

LD1506190888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1443 GMT 15 Jun 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov]

[Text] Despite the Geneva accords, Pakistan is continuing to render assistance to the so-called irreconciliables, is arming them, and is helping antigovernment groups to penetrate Afghan territory. Meanwhile, the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are honorably fulfilling the Geneva accords. The withdrawal from Afghanistan of Soviet units is continuing. Now watch this reportage from our correspondent Mikhail Leshchinskiy:

[Begin videorcording] [Leschinskiy, over shots of APC's speeding along road in convoy, people watching on roadside] The troops are moving precisely according to schedule, without losses. One would like to say, of course, that this path of theirs is carpeted with flowers, and that they are followed only by words of gratitude and benevolent farewells. Thus, in fact, it was in the overwhelming majority of towns and villages along the road. However, shots also rang out, rockets exploded, and mines were detonated. This occurred in places marked on the itinerary maps as areas warranting special vigilance. It was precisely here that detachments of the armed opposition made unsuccessful attempts to break through our guard posts to the roads along which the columns were passing. [video shows Soviet convoys passing along road, field guns on roadside, soldiers running from gunpost in bushes off the road]

The provocative actions aimed at wrecking the Geneva accords are still continuing. Ideological brainwashing of the population has intensified, as have intimidation and terror. Armed convoys continue to pass into Afghanistan, and the infiltration of a large number of Western military advisers has been recorded. [video shows Afghans walking along road in town, street scenes, uniformed men in streets, turbaned man being interviewed in market-place]

I chatted with Shiragoy, a local religious authority, in the administrative center of the Afghan province of Paktia, bordering on Pakistan, whence the last Soviet soldiers departed the other day. He recalled that on the day the Geneva accords were signed, all Muslims prayed for the early advent of peace, and called upon their fellow believers in neighboring Pakistan to put an end to the fratricidal war. We are distressed that these appeals were not heeded. And now, after the departure of the Soviet troops, Ziaul Haq does not want to leave us in peace but is helping the foes of the Afghan people, Shiragoy said.

It would of course be naive and incorrect to assume that in this situation the Afghan leadership is playing a waiting game. [video shows Leshchinskiy in front of UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan headquarters] Reorganization of the Armed Forces is under way, and they are being redeployed. The first session of the recently elected National Assembly of the republic, the Afghan parliament, has been held. Here, after lengthy and difficult debates, a coalition government has been formed comprising representatives of various parties and public groups. In foreign political activity, President Najibullah's visits to New York and Cuba evoked a perceptible response. Continuous and beneficial contacts are maintained with the mission of UN military observers, which has been located right here, in the very center of Kabul.

We have come across these officers from various countries, in the smart, fashionable UN uniform, in many regions of Afghanistan. They are in the places from which the Soviet troops are leaving. Finnish General Rauli Helminen commands this mission which operates in Afghanistan and Pakistan. [video shows UN troops, cars with UN marking, Helminen interviewed in office]

You and your associates are monitoring the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan quite strictly. Have you any comments to make in this connection?

[Helminen speaking in English with Leshchinskiy's Russian translation superimposed] I can say that we have not the slightest criticism to make of the Soviet Command. On the contrary, we are receiving all-round support from it. The Afghan Government is helping us equally well.

[Leschinskiy] Are there any difficulties in conducting the monitoring in the territories of Afghanistan and Pakistan? What sort of relations have been established between you and the governmental and competent organs of these countries?

[Helminen] I think everyone understands that this is accompanied by great difficulties, primarily of a practical nature: namely the great distances between inhabited settlements, mountainous terrain difficult to reach, and problems with means of transport and communications. Furthermore, we have been here for only 1 month, Rauli Helminen said and therefore it is hard to talk of any specific results yet. But we are improving our activities. I should mention once again the excellent cooperation with the Afghan side. [end recording]

Further Appeals Reported on Soviet POW's

More on POW News Briefing

PM1506153988 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Press Conference": "Five Out of Three Hundred. Soviet Soldiers Who Escaped From the Hands of the Afghan Extremists Speak"]

[Text] Television cameras were set up in the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA conference hall, journalists had arrived representing the mass media of the United States and Europe, and we noticed journalists and diplomats from Pakistan.... Right by the entrance we met our cherished guests one after the other: Konstantin Metelkov from Gorkiy, Abdukholik Zhurayev from Dushanbe, Garyagdy Charyev and Mukhamed Yazkuliyev from Turkmenia, and Valeriy Didenko from Kiev. Two of them—Mukhamed Yazkuliyev and Valeriy Didenko—rushed to embrace each other:

"We were imprisoned in the same pit with our hands and feet in irons!"

The news conference was opened by Oleg Prudkov, editor of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA international life features. He recalled that 18 months ago LITERATURNAYA GAZETA had drawn the public's attention to an acute problem for the Soviet people. It is a question of saving over 300 servicemen who have been captured and forcibly transferred to Pakistan. We are demanding their immediate return home to their nearest and dearest. We are ardently supported by our readers. The Foreign Ministry and public organizations—the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Red Cross, and the Soviet Peace Fund—are prepared to provide the necessary funds to do this and are making every effort to save our people. Public committees for the return of the prisoners of war are being set up in New York and Moscow. After all, there in their captivity they are subjected to brainwashing by armed extremist groupings. They are intimidated in every possible way with claims that severe punishment awaits them in their homeland. That is a lie! None of them will be punished. A normal working life in the motherland awaits the prisoners. This was firmly stated 25 May at a Foreign Ministry news conference by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Today we are turning to the testimony of former prisoners of war who have come home: They themselves talk about their imprisonment and their life in the motherland, and answer questions.

"We currently have information about 311 servicemen missing in action," Major General V.P. Khrobostov, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate's Propaganda and Agitation Directorate, said at the press conference. "Some of them, according to our information, perished in battle. The rest are being sought. We are taking every measure to establish the fate of every Soviet serviceman missing in action."

Major General V.P. Khrobostov reaffirmed that Soviet prisoners of war returning home would be subject to no persecution—that is a malicious fabrication dreamed up by our ideological enemies.

Abdukholik Zhurayev. I was captured in May 1982, just before being demobilized. Thanks to the fact that I can speak Dari I was able to pretend to be a "true Muslim." I started to be trained for a future assignment in the Soviet Central Asian republics, where I was to conduct a "struggle for Islam." My chance to escape came in Islamabad, where I managed to make it to the Soviet Embassy. I now work as a construction worker at Construction and Installation Administration No. 2 at the "Monolit" Production and Construction Detachment in Dushanbe. I'm married with two children. No criminal proceedings were instituted against me.

Valeriy Didenko. I tried to escape many times but failed. I returned home thanks to the cooperation of the International Red Cross via Switzerland, where I spent 2 years. I'm a construction worker in Kiev. I was happy to meet my fellow-captive Mukhamed Yazkuliyev here....

Mukhamed Yazkuliyev. I, like Abdukholik, was also trained to be a "fighter for Islam." The mujahidin trusted me so much that I was even allowed access to weapons. So one day I took a grenade and.... sat there for a whole hour with my own death in my hands. I pulled the pin—the grenade did not go off. I threw it under my legs. I came to in the hospital. They had started treating me, having decided that it had been an accident. My chance to escape came in Islamabad, where I made it to the Soviet Embassy.

Garyagdy Charyyev. I am currently a member of a family contract team on the "Sotsializm" Kolkhoz near Ashkhabad. I spent 7 months in captivity. I was released in a swap for Afghan insurgents. I was met with joy at home, and have not received any punishment.

Konstantin Metelkov. In August 1985 the Sayyaf gang, which held me in a camp on Pakistani territory, exchanged me for their relatives and friends. That for me was the end of a captivity which had lasted almost 18 months. And, believe me, it was terrible. We were continually threatened with reprisals. How many times did I have a knife held to my throat! You know, as long as one of our comrades remains in captivity there can be no peace for any of us! But about myself.... When I returned home, I wrote a detailed explanation to the Command. After my facts were checked I was sent to Tashkent for further military service. No reprisals were taken against me. On the contrary, I received an excellent military report—which allowed me to enroll for studies—along with a certificate attesting that I took part in a war. I am working on a construction site in Gorkiy. I am still living in a hostel, but am on the priority housing list, since I intend to give up the bachelor life in the fall....

Western correspondents asked all five of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's guests detailed questions: Had they really "gotten away" with their imprisonment, had there really been no complications with the law? They patiently explained over and over: No, there had been no complications, no problems. The motherland has accepted them as sons, it has accepted them as a mother. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA had held this press conference in order to debunk Western propaganda's lies and maintain the morale of those in captivity whom people are trying to break by using these lies. And in order to call on the world public to make every effort to save the prisoners and bring them home as fast as possible.

For their part, the representatives of the Pakistani Embassy in the USSR who attended the news conference gave assurances that they would promote in every possible way the search for and release of our servicemen who are still held captive by the armed Afghan opposition on Pakistani territory.

Group Visits Pakistani Embassy

LD1406173688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] In Moscow today a delegation of the Soviet public visited the Pakistani Embassy. There was a brief interview after the visit. [video of building exterior, seven people emerging]

[Unidentified correspondent speaks to USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut S. Savitskaya, identified from screen caption] In what connection have you now visited the Pakistani Embassy, and what did you hand over?

[Savitskaya] Soviet public organizations are now taking all possible measures to achieve the return of our soldiers taken prisoner in Afghanistan. Just now we were at the embassy and handed to the ambassador a message to Ziaul Haq, president of Pakistan, from the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries and the Soviet Peace Fund, with a request to make every effort to assist the search for and return to the homeland of our lads. Of course, the Soviet Peace Fund and public organizations will not begrudge any kind of resources to resolve this task. In the near future, very soon, a delegation of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Soviet Peace Fund, and the Soviet Red Cross, is being sent to Geneva in order to resolve, with the participation of international organizations, the problem of our POWs in Afghanistan, and we hope for success. The ambassador assured us that the letter will be delivered. [passage omitted]

[Sh. Babakhanov, chairman of the Spiritual Directorate of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, identified from screen caption] The news that several hundred Soviet soldiers who served in Afghanistan, fulfilling their international duty, were taken prisoner and transferred to Pakistan, disturbed Soviet Muslims very much. Soviet Muslims perceived this act as being unfriendly and therefore, via their acquaintances, via their channels, they have started to convey to the public of Paksitan the fact that these soldiers of ours should be returned to the homeland.

Pakistani Aid Sought

LD1506162988 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—"We are taking measures to find out the destiny of every Soviet serviceman reported missing in Afghanistan and ensure his return home," a TASS correspondent was told today by Major General Valentin Khrobostov, representative of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy of the USSR Defence Ministry. "Upon return home all of them will be given, in common with all Soviet citizens, jobs, the possibility to study and get good education."

According to the available data, 311 Soviet servicemen, a third of whom were killed in action, have been reported missing in Afghanistan. A search is under way for the survivors.

The release of the servicemen taken prisoner has become the cause of the whole Soviet people who cannot remain indifferent to the destiny of the soldiers, who did their internationalist duty in Afghanistan. The USSR Foreign Ministry, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Cultural Foundation, the Union of the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent societies are just some of the government and public organizations campaigning for the release of the Soviet citizens and their return home.

Pakistan could also play its role in that effort, since the Soviet servicemen taken prisoner are in detention in Afghan armed opposition camps in its territory. After the signing of the Geneva accords for a settlement around Afghanistan, the Soviet side repeatedly turned to the Pakistani leadership on that issue, including personally to President Ziaul Haq. Representatives of Soviet public who visited the Pakistani Embassy in Moscow on Tuesday this week, handed in a message addressed to the president of Pakistan with the request for assisting in the search for and return of the soldiers home.

The Soviet people expect that President Ziaul Haq will live up to his promises and the Pakistani side will take urgent measures towards the return of the Soviet soldiers.

Committee Formed in New York

LD1606111288 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 16 TASS—TASS correspondents Vladimir Mostovets and Vitaliy Chukseyev report:

At a press conference for foreign journalists in New York it was announced about the establishment of the International Committee for the Rescue of Russian Prisoners of War in Afghanistan.

The committee groups representatives of the United States', Soviet and European public. Among them are American artist Leonard Baskin, Russian artist Mikhail Shemyakin, American authors Suzanne Massie and Robert Massie, president meritius of the Jewish Theological Seminary Rabbi Bernard Mandelbaum, French actress Marina Vlady, American physician Pinkas Lebovits, assistant director of the Harriman Institute at Columbia University Jonathan Sanders, correspondent of the newspaper LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in New York Iona Andronov.

The committee leaders stated that they intend to launch a large-scale campaign to liberate Soviet prisoners of war. To this end, they plan to address themselves to the White House, the United Nations, International Red Cross, Pakistan and the leaders of the opposition formations.

They said they were ready to go to Islamabad and Peshawar. A committee leader stressed that the United States supplied mujahidin with everything they needed and, therefore, the United States could play an important role in freeing prisoners of war.

A statement by the committee read out to journalists, says, in part: "Even some Americans unfriendly to the Soviet Union, after visiting the mujahidin in Afghanistan, have told of the killing of Soviet POWs, how prior to their execution the young men's eyes were torn out, their noses, ears, and genitals cut off. Sometimes, the doomed prisoners were skinned alive. American eyewitnesses also inform us that those POWs who have survived so far are chained hand and foot and held underground in constant darkness.

"The tormented prisoners are not given medical treatment. Many suffer from hepatitis, malaria and other diseases. Suicides are more and more often frequent among them. Thirty-four POWs, according to American data, were killed attempting to escape. The time has come to put an end to this nightmare along with the end of the bloody slaughter in Afghanistan".

The journalists were reminded about the statement made by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev on June 1: "We established a contact with the American side to consider this question in practical terms". "It (the question) got to be studied at the working level, at the level of experts. I would add that this problem was put also to Pakistan. We will do everything for our people to return to the homeland".

Speakers at the press conference also quoted Major-General Valentin Khrobostov, a senior executive of the Main Political Department of the USSR Defence Ministry, as saying that nobody at home is going to persecute or punish Soviet POWs taken prisoner in Afghanistan.

The goals of the committee are humane and should be understandable to any person, Pinkas Lebovits, a well-known physician, member of the International Society for Tropical Medicine, told TASS. We hope that our efforts to rescue Soviet soldiers taken prisoner in Afghanistan will be met with understanding both on the part of the U.S. official authorities and Pakistan. We also try to begin talks with representatives of the leading groups of mujahidin who are staying in the United States.

The problem of prisoners of war, in this case of Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan, cannot fail to worry me, since this question concerns universal human rights, the humane attitude to people, Robert Massie, a famed American author and historian, told TASS. It is fine that many Americans responded to our request for help. This demonstrates that the concern by the Soviet public who is eager to find and return home those who are listed as missing is understandable to many people in the United States as well. This mutual understanding could hardly be possible several years ago when the USSR was called an "evil empire" here. The establishment of the international committee to assist the Soviet Union in solving the problem of POWs is in itself an unprecedented phenomenon and the best piece of evidence of the change of the international climate for the better, Massie stressed.

Afghan Group Cited

LD1606111488 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 16 TASS—The Organization of Peace, Solidarity and Friendship of the Republic of Afghanistan has urged the Pakistani public to promote the release and the sending home of Soviet servicemen taken prisoner by the opposition Afghan groups and moved to Pakistan.

According to the official statistics, the appeal said, there are 311 servicemen from the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan on a list of those who are missing. Many of them are held in captivity on Pakistani territory.

The Soviet and Afghan public is very much concerned over their fate. Expressing the opinion of the Afghan people, the Organization of Peace, Solidarity and Friendship urged the peace-minded forces of Pakistan to influence the Government in the name of humanism for the sake of achieving the release of the Soviet servicemen and demanded that the treatment of the prisoners be in line with the standards of the international law.

The Organization of Peace, Solidarity and Friendship of the Republic of Afghanistan is confident that the Pakistani public will play a proper part in the release of the Soviet servicemen, which will promote the consolidation of friendship among nations and the ensurance of human rights, the appeal said.

Red Cross Appeals for News

LD1606124688 Moscow TASS in English 1214 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Alyokhin:

The top Soviet Red Cross official has appealed for whatever information there is in any country about Soviet POW's captured in Afghanistan.

Dmitriy Venediktov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, made the call in an interview granted to the TASS World Service.

He told this correspondent that the Union has been looking for Soviet soldiers taken prisoner by Afghan armed opposition forces during combat in Afghanistan since 1981.

The first eight Soviet POW's returned to the USSR in the beginning of 1985 and the search for others is continuing, Venediktov said.

He explained that the Union of Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies has requested relevant help from the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the Afghan Red Crescent Society.

He added that following press reports about POW's being held in Pakistan, similar requests have been twice sent to the Pakistani Red Cross Society.

"The reply to the first request has said the Pakistani Red Cross Society does not know if there are Soviet POW's in that country. A response to the second appeal is yet to come," Venediktov said.

Without excluding the possibility that there are Soviet citizens in Iran, although the USSR does not have any concrete data on this score, the Union has sent a telegram to the Red Cross Society in Iran as well, he continued.

It has asked also the U.S. Red Cross Society for assistance in case the latter comes to know anything about Soviet POW's.

Venediktov said that the humane effort to locate POW's and secure their return home has been seriously hindered by the posture of the Afghan armed opposition which has refused to cooperate with the International Committee of the Red Cross on this issue.

"One would like to hope that the situation will change for the better as progress is made with realizing the Geneva agreements and bringing the situation in Afghanistan back to normal," the Soviet Red Cross official said.

Indian Pashtun Leader Denounces Pakistan

LD1506171988 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] New Delhi June 15 TASS—U.S. weapons continue to be stored up in the Pakistani areas of Kurram, northern Waziristan and Parachinar and then moved on to opposition groups in Afghanistan, the chairman of the All-India Pashtun Jirgah (Assembly), Khan Gazi Kabuli, has said here.

He said Pakistani authorities were aiding the armed Afghan opposition with its headquarters in Peshawar. Further forays against Afghanistan were being prepared in Pakistani territory and "advisers" kept arriving there from the United States and some other countries, Khan Gazi Kabuli added.

He said the Ziaul Haq administration was thus torpedoing the agreements relating to Afghanistan, which had given the people of that country the right to peace and free development without outside interference.

The Pakistan leader denounced the Islamabad authorities' lack of respect for the Geneva accords and said it was most worrying.

Commenting on Islamabad's position on the Geneva agreements, the Indian news agency PRESS ASIA INTERNATIONAL said a settlement met the fundamental interests of the Pakistani people.

It noted, however, that the Islamabad authorities appeared to be afraid that a settlement would remove all the pretexts for continued massive U.S. military aid to Pakistan.

Gromyko, Tunisian Envoy Discuss Ties, Abu Jihad

PM1606085188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting With Tunisian Ambassador"]

[Text] On 13 June A.A. Gromyko received in the Kremlin Tunisian Ambassador to the USSR Ahmed Abderraouf Ounaies, who handed over a personal message from Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

In his message the Tunisian leader expresses gratitude for the support given by the Soviet Union on the UN Security Council during the discussion of the question of Israeli violation of Tunisia's sovereignty.

After presenting the message, A.A. Ounaies stated, on behalf of his country's leadership, that on 16 April this year agents of the Israeli special services murdered eminent Palestinian leader Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir] on Tunisian territory. The blatant violation of Tunisian sovereignty, planned and carried out by Israel, was discussed by the Security Council at the request of the Tunisian representative at the United Nations.

The swift reaction by the Soviet Union, in particular by its mass media, which reflected solidarity with Tunisia, helped its country's leadership to rapidly formulate its demands and place the question of the violation of Tunisian sovereignty before the UN Security Council. At the session itself only the representatives of the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR fully supported Tunisia's position and clearly indicated the aggressor, Israel, which must bear responsibility for its actions. Israel's terrorist act was roundly condemned at the UN Security Council session.

Stressing the complexity of the situation in the Mediterranean area and the Near East, the ambassador drew attention to the fact that the Arab peoples are currently forced to wage a struggle on various fronts: They include the Palestinian uprising on Israeli-occupied territories, the armed struggle in Lebanon, Israel's transformation of the Golan Heights, belonging to Syria, into its bridgehead, the Iran-Iraq war, and the tense situation in the Persian Gulf, where seamen are being killed almost daily. Drought, swarms of locusts in cultivated fields, and falling world oil prices are also making things difficult for the Arab countries.

Accepting the message, A.A. Gromyko stated that the Soviet Union's stance on the question raised by the Tunisian president is a principled one. No matter who made it and how, the stake on strong-arm methods, employed by Israel, is senseless, because violence can only breed violence.

The only escape from the vicious circle as far as the Soviet leadership can see is a just, all-embracing settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Palestinian problem, like other difficult questions of the region, can only be solved by convening an international conference on the Near East. The Soviet concept of a Near East settlement is well known. The international conference would be convened under UN auspices with the participation of all interested parties, as well as the permanent members of the Security Council. Of course, representatives of the Arab people of Palestine in the shape of their sole legitimate representative—the PLO—would participate in the conference.

This concept was reaffirmed the other day in M.S. Gorbachev's message to the extraordinary pan-Arab summit conference in Algiers from 7 through 9 June.

A.A. Gromyko and A.A. Ounaies agreed that more favorable prerequisites are currently taking shape for untying the Near East knot of contradictions. This is all the more important in view of the fact that the continuing explosive situation in the Near East strikes a dissonant chord against the background of the changes for the better that are evident in international affairs.

The discussion of different aspects of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Tunisia took place in a positive vein. During the examination of the problems there was a sense of unity that bilateral relations are developing on a good and healthy basis and have broad prospects.

Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, was present at the conversation.

East Europe

Smirnova Interview Reviews Albanian-Soviet Rift

WA18120080 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 21, May 88 pp 30-31

[Interview with Nina Smirnov by Gennadiy Sysoyev under the rubric: "The Past and the Present;" "The Background to a Rift"—first paragraph is NEW TIMES introduction]

[Text] The conversation on Albania between Nina Smirnova, D.Sc. (Hist.), and our correspondent (NEW TIMES No. 2) brought many letters from our Soviet and foreign readers asking us to elaborate on the subject. Today the NEW TIMES correspondent continues his discussion with Nina Smirnova.

[Sysoyev] Most letters to the editors inquire about the reasons for the severance of Soviet-Albanian relations. Some offer their own explanations as to why this happened, and conjectures as to who is to blame. One reader believes the cause of the break-off to be "banal"—the rejection by the Albanian leadership of the denunciation of the Stalin personality cult at the 20th CPSU Congress. The reader suggests, in good faith if rather naively, that the Albanian leaders should "change their attitude to Stalin and take a new look at Lenin."

[Smirnova] This is a sound suggestion. I would say one can only benefit from rereading Lenin. Both here and in other socialist countries the process is now under way of assimilating Lenin's theoretical legacy in full and applying it creatively to the complex present-day situation. I think this process is at work in Albania, too, but at a slower rate. In this connection, one of our political observer's recent pronouncement to the effect that Albania is clinging to the kind of socialism we had in the thirties appears disputable, if not erroneous, and tactless in any case.

A reappraisal of Stalin's interpretation of Marxist-Leninist teaching is inevitable in Albania too. There is no denying, though, that for a number of historical reasons the administrative command method of management has become more firmly established there than in other European socialist countries. The process of perestroyka in those countries involves considerable difficulties, as we know, so what can one expect in the case of Albania?

[Sysoyev] The answer to the question of what caused the rift between Albania and the USSR could be suggested by a look at the developments that preceded it...

[Smirnova] I must say, to begin with, that the ruling parties in socialist countries may well disagree on certain political issues, which is only natural. However, differences as such do not necessarily lead to conflicts. The dialectics of these countries' development and the diversity of the different forms of socialism presuppose diverse approaches to the same problems. On the other hand, unity presupposes coordinating various interests and taking them into consideration in order to attain common goals.

For instance, the Albanian leadership approved—unconditionally in words but in fact with strong reservations—the measures taken by the CPSU to deal with the Stalin personality cult. This "unqualified approval" was recorded in the resolutions of a number of plenums of the Albanian Party of Labour, and at its Third Congress in May-June 1956.

In short, differences already existed but did not manifest themselves in the routine practice of our political relations. The same applies to bilateral Soviet-Albanian economic cooperation; although the results were not quite to mutual satisfaction, whatever problems arose were constructively resolved throughout the postwar period.

In the late sixties, the international communist and working class movement became divided on a number of issues; by siding with the then Chinese leaders, the Albanian party of Labour found itself in opposition to other Communist parties. Before the June 1960 Bucharest Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, however, the APL did not voice openly its disagreement with the position of the CPSU. In the autumn of the same year, Albanian representatives at the UN refused to sign Bulgaria's proposals for regional disarmament in the Balkans, put forward on behalf of all the socialist countries, and Poland's draft resolution urging that no military bases be set up on other countries' territories. The CPSU Central Committee's offers to meet with Albanian leaders with a view to ascertaining the gist of the differences and settling all the disputable issues through exchanges of views and mutual consultations were declined.

[Sysoyev] What stand did the Albanian delegation take at the conference of 81 Communist parties held in Moscow in November 1960?

[Smirnova] At the conference, Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the APL Central Committee, elaborated in considerable detail on the Albanian position with regard to the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, the diversity of forms of transition to socialism, and the criticism of the Stalin personality cult. The report revealed differences between the Albanian side's views and those of most other delegations. In his report Enver Hoxha dwelt on Soviet-Albanian economic relations in an extremely contentious manner. Although the discussion of the report was heated, a reconciliation of different viewpoints was achieved, as evidenced by the fact that the Albanian delegation signed the Statement and the Appeal to the Peoples of the World adopted by the conference. This acceptance of the majority view was purely formal, however. There was no longer any unity.

[Sysoyev] Although the fact of ideological differences was not made public at the time (as a look through the papers for those years will show), it remains true, does it not, that these differences came to have a substantial effect on the sphere of interstate relations?

[Smirnova] That's right. Economic cooperation began to decline, Soviet experts were recalled and previously coordinated credits and deliveries were delayed. Each side accused the other of hindering the normal functioning of their respective diplomatic missions. On December 9-10, 1961, the two countries' foreign ministries exchanged strongly-worded notes. As a result, the Soviet Government decided to recall the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and demanded that all the Albanian Embassy staff leave Moscow. For a short while, two or three technicians stayed on in the abandoned embassy buildings, but they were eventually recalled as well. The plaques on the buildings were changed.

[Sysoyev] The recall of the embassy staffs signified the virtual severing of Soviet-Albanian relations. Was that inevitable under the circumstances, in your opinion?

[Smirnova] I don't think so. To my mind, it was an over-reaction on our part to the stand taken by the Albanian leadership. In response to the Albanian side's fanning of ideological differences, we broke off diplomatic relations.

Reflecting on the development of cooperation between socialist countries, Mikhail Gorbachev writes as follows in his book "Perestroyka: New Thinking of Our Country and the World": "There have been serious setbacks... The severance of friendly relations between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and Yugoslavia, the People's Republic of China and Albania, on the other, was especially unfortunate."

As the years went by, the rift in Soviet-Albanian relations continued to widen owing to new complications. Overcoming them and restoring the edifice of our relations is no easy matter.

Some may not relish the prospect of building this edifice anew, brick by brick. The restoration of friendship between our two nations is possible given a truthful and honest interpretation of the past and, of course, a mutual desire for rapprochement.

[Sysoyev] Some of our readers wonder why we should "curry favour with the Albanians" and "humiliate ourselves" by offering to restore relations while they continue to condemn our leadership's policy.

[Smirnova] The statements which appear in our press as to the desirability of and need for the restoration of Soviet-Albanian relations reflect the preparedness of the Soviet leadership to normalize our relations with Albania in the interests of both nations. Far from detracting from the dignity of our state, this enhances its prestige. Today certain ill-wishers concentrate exclusively on the intractability of the Albanian side. For myself, I discern certain changes in its position, albeit slight ones. This is indicated, for instance, by the fact that the Albanian press now gives much less space to criticisms leveled against the USSR and by a shift of emphasis in these criticisms.

We certainly do not turn a blind eye to certain biased and unfriendly publications which continue to appear in the Albanian press. Under the present circumstances, however, the "tit-for-tat" principle is not the best one to go by if one wants normal relations.

[Sysoyev] I agree with you that Albania's attitude to our country and our actions in the international arena has not so far undergone substantial changes. Nevertheless, there have appeared encouraging new tendencies in its foreign policy. For instance, it took part in the recent Belgrade meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers.

[Smirnova] This is true, although Reis Malile, the Albanian foreign minister, rejected outright speculations by foreign papers to the effect that Albanian foreign policy had shown new features, as evidenced by its emergence in the international arena. "It is the others who are changing, not us," he said.

Nevertheless, I regard Albania's participation in the Belgrade meeting as being significant in itself. Previously Albania stayed away from such forums.

Promoting relations with the neighbouring Balkan states had always been regarded by the leadership of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as a priority foreign policy objective. Today, Albania seeks to play an increasingly active part in the region by expanding its bilateral contacts with its neighbours, on the one hand, and joining in multilateral cooperation in various fields, on the other. This tendency manifested itself, I think, in Albania's participation in the Belgrade meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers.

Speaking in the Yugoslav capital, Reis Malile backed the idea of making the Balkans a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons and supported the withdrawal of foreign troops from the peninsula and the closing down of military bases there.

Outside the Belgrade forum, Reis Malile had constructive talks with Budimir Loncar, the Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs, which certainly contributed towards greater understanding between the two countries.

"We are certain," Ramiz Alia, the Albanian leader, wrote in his message to the participants in the Belgrade meeting, "that the Balkan countries have enough good

will and wisdom to overcome negative factors and old prejudices and to march forward along the road of international friendship..." This idea merits attention, I am sure...

The realities of the modern world demand that political wisdom and common sense prevail over emotion in dealing with complex—and sometimes even intricate—problems. It's time to give up old prejudices, stereotypes and dogmas. And this does not apply to Balkan cooperation alone.

Grosz Cited on Economic Cooperation With USSR

PM1506140388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "K. Grosz Statement"]

[Text] Budapest, 10 Jun—The Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow has strengthened people's faith in the world's peaceful future, K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, has declared. He was addressing a ceremonial meeting of Hungarian power workers devoted to the centennial of the start of electrification in the country.

The Hungarian leader went on to point to the increasing significance of Hungary's cooperation with other socialist countries—the Soviet Union above all—in the sphere of power generation. He emphasized that the creation of a united power system serves as a graphic example of such mutually advantageous cooperation.

Touching on the results of the recent all-Hungarian party conference, K. Grosz pointed out that this forum indicated the direction of further advance along the path of socialist building. The Hungarian Communists' forum created political conditions for fulfilling the plan tasks for Hungary's socioeconomic development. Its basic aim is to achieve profound transformations in the socioeconomic sphere, give a new boost to the process of socialist building, and reveal reserves for further development. The party's readiness for renewal, the improvement of the system of political institutions, and the enhancement of the activeness of all of Hungarian society guarantee that the set goals will be achieved.

Paper Notes Antonov Meeting With CPCZ's Jakes

PM1606074788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Positive Assessment"]

[Text] Prague, 14 Jun—Topical questions of the development of CSSR-USSR relations were examined during a meeting held in Prague between M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is heading the Soviet delegation to the 28th session of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. A positive assessment of the results achieved over the past period in deepening mutual economic ties was given with satisfaction.

Great attention was also devoted to the problems of coordinating the two countries' national economic plans for the period until 1995, to reciprocal exchanges of scientific and technical achievements, to measures to raise the technical standard and quality of reciprocal deliveries, and particularly to the consistent and effective utilization of new forms of economic cooperation such as direct ties between CSSR and Soviet enterprises and organizations.

Jaruzelski Address at PZPR Plenum Reported

PM1506140588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At PZPR Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jun—The PZPR Central Committee Politburo is firmly convinced that the plan for the second stage of the economic reform in Poland can and will be implemented; the party will not shirk its historic responsibility for the socialist orientation of the country's socioeconomic development, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has stated. He was delivering the PZPR Central Committee Politburo report "The Party's Tasks in Further Deepening Economic and Political Reforms and Promoting Cadres" at a PZPR plenum.

The tide of restructuring, he said, now covers many socialist countries. This is creating favorable international conditions for implementing the PZPR's course of socialist renewal. We attach particular importance to the transformations being implemented by the CPSU. The philosophies of Polish renewal and Soviet restructuring are ideologically similar and are moving in the same direction, which creates exceptionally favorable conditions for strengthening friendship, fruitfully exchanging experience, and raising all-around cooperation to a new level.

We are convinced that the forthcoming 19th all-union party conference will make decisions that will reaffirm and consolidate the previous achievements of restructuring, simultaneously opening up the way to expand and deepen it.

We will meet with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Poland with great respect, cordially, and ardently. The Soviet leader's forthcoming visit will undoubtedly open an important new chapter in the history of the alliance, friendship, and cooperation between our two fraternal countries, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee stressed.

The restructuring program accompanies and accords with the new political thinking on the problems of the modern world. It is now the basis for socialism's peaceful strategy on the broadest international scale. The dialogue developing between the two great powers is having a substantial impact on the detente process and the improvement of the overall international atmosphere. The Moscow summit provides a reason to expect that this process will develop further to the benefit of peace.

The implementation of the second stage of the reform, the Polish leader went on to say, is under way. A number of planned decisions and measures have been taken. But shortcomings and deformations have also emerged. The party must raise its vigilance with respect to various distortions of the socialist nature of the reform.

We must not leave in their present form the style and methods of the PZPR's activity, the functioning of its structures, or the mode of thought employed by some of the aktiv and political apparatus, the speaker noted. The feature of the party is its fidelity to socialist ideals, which in no way means that its forms should never change. Our duty is to heed the voice of working people and to ensure the implementation by the party of its leading role while recognizing its service function with respect to the working class, working people, and the people.

SED Central Committee Plenum Opens 10 Jun

PM1506105388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "At SED Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Berlin, 9 Jun—An SED Central Committee Plenum opened here today at which Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, made a speech. Referring to the main international problems of the day, he particularly noted that the Moscow meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan was an important new chance on the path of disarmament and the consolidation of peace. The improvement in USSR-U.S. relations is of fundamental significance.

The SED's policy of consolidating international security, the speaker continued, is based on the implementation of the Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine.

Referring to relations between the two German states, the speaker pointed out that the FRG Government has an ambivalent position on disarmament questions. The GDR expects the FRG Government to make a concrete contribution to continuing the process of disarmament and detente.

USSR, SFRY Academicians Hold Roundtable

PM1506103188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Academicians' Roundtable"]

[Text] A roundtable for academicians from the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Soviet State Building and Law Department and the SFRY Belgrade University Political Science Faculty took place in Moscow 6-7 June on the theme "The State and Self-Management Under Socialism." It was conducted by Professor D. Markovic (SFRY) and D.A. Kerimov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (USSR).

A fruitful exchange of opinions took place on new approaches, positions, and ideas in the development of socialist self-management under contemporary conditions. The transformations under way in the two countries were examined, the concepts put forward were critically analyzed, and many points of contact in overall views and methodological principles were found. The roundtable demonstrated understanding of a number of problems of state-legal building and revealed objective and subjective difficulties in deepening self-management and developing socialist democracy. New areas and forms for future scientific cooperation were outlined.

West Europe

Danish Policy on Port Calls 'Gesture to NATO'

PM1506104388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jun 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Gesture to the Atlanticists"]

[Text] Copenhagen, 8 Jun—Danish Prime Minister P. Schluter has delivered a speech in the Folketing (parliament) outlining the new bourgeois government's program. The government was formed last week following the results of early parliamentary elections 10 May.

P. Schluter described promoting a reduction in international tension as one of the cabinet's main tasks in the foreign policy sphere. He stated the Danish leadership's intention to steer a course of reaching specific agreements on disarmament and arms control questions. As for chemical weapons, Denmark advocates their complete elimination.

Referring to the question of prospects for the creation of a nuclear-free zone, P. Schluter stressed the importance of guarantees from the United States and the USSR regarding such a zone.

The head of the cabinet told deputies of his decision on the April parliamentary resolution that toughened the regulations regarding visits by nuclear-capable ships to

Denmark. It was because it disagreed with this parliamentary resolution that the government announced the early parliamentary elections, which finally led to the creation of the present ruling coalition.

The essence of the new procedure is that the Danish Government will send a note to all embassies regarding the inadmissibility in peacetime of placing nuclear weapons on the country's territory, including its ports. Then the Danish Foreign Ministry documents authorizing specific warships to visit the country will indicate the need to comply with Danish rules for port calls. Political observers consider this procedure to be a kind of gesture to the NATO leadership aimed at smoothing over the acute disagreements that flared up within the bloc after the Folketing's antinuclear resolution.

Marchuk Receives Award From French President

PM1506131488 Paris LE MONDE in French 9 Jun 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Mr Mitterrand Advocates 'Rapprochement' With USSR"]

[Text] President Francois Mitterrand who presented Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, with the insignia of Commander of the Legion of Honor on Tuesday 7 June, advocated "rapprochement" between the two countries: "France and Russia have rarely been in harmony with regard to their internal systems, but have almost constantly been in harmony in their foreign policy approaches.... However, it would be better for there to be harmony in all spheres. I am working for this, with the feeling that we can now make great progress," he said in particular.

The president paid tribute to the Soviet mathematician and physicist, who is an active supporter of Mr Gorbachev's restructuring.

In the morning, Guriy Marchuk signed a document extending the scientific cooperation agreement between the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the National Center for Scientific Research for 3 years. Under the terms of this agreement, 51 French research workers worked for a time in the USSR and 58 Soviets came to France in 1987.

Finnish Defense Minister Norrback Interviewed

PM1506095788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jun 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Finnish Defense Minister O. Norrback by own correspondent Captain Second Rank V. Kocherov under the rubric "Interview on a Topical Theme": "Ole Norrback: A Great Deal Hinges on Trust"—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Excerpts] During the stay in our country of O. Norrbak, minister of defense of the Republic of Finland, a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent met with him and asked him to answer a number of questions. [passage omitted]

[Kocherov] To what extent can the results of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue in Moscow influence the solution of the problems of military confrontation in the north of Europe, the area for which certain circles in the West are forecasting tension in connection with the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles?

[Norrback] There is a risk that the center of gravity may shift to other arms spheres. In order to forestall this, it is necessary to actively continue the dialogue at all levels. It is important that talks are continuing on the reduction of other types of weapons, in particular chemical weapons. In this area too, the same confidence-building principles must be adhered to, then these talks will produce specific results of one kind or another.

The continuation of the dialogue will reveal whether its constructive trend will continue, the trend whose first fruit was the agreement on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. As for Finland, we are always ready, by means of our foreign policy and our efforts, to contribute to the strengthening of trust, to contribute our bit to arms reductions.

[Kocherov] We are familiar with Finland's peace initiatives. The Soviet peace initiatives in respect to the north of Europe which were set forth last year in Murmansk are also well known. How were they received in Finland? Is it possible, in your opinion, to expect a rapprochement in the positions of the other countries of the region on these problems?

[Norrback] In Finland a great deal of attention is paid to these problems. They are major problems and they relate to the future. Time is needed to achieve specific results. But we must strive for this. It is necessary to hold a public and political debate on these problems.

It is now 20 years since Finland put forward the proposal to create a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe. The attitude toward this initiative in north European countries is now more positive than when it was first put forward. This points yet again to the need to maintain a constant dialogue on the major complex problems of the present time. Only in this way can this process influence public opinion. It is important that we are proceeding in the right direction.

[Kocherov] Obviously, the problems of strengthening security and stability in the north of Europe were touched upon also in the course of your talks with the Soviet defense minister. What can you say in this connection?

[Norrback] We Finns are in a favorable position. We live in a country that has no enemies. We seek to preserve this situation with all the means at our disposal. Both by means of fostering good-neighborly relations and by taking part in UN activities at all levels. For a small country like Finland this is very important. Just as it is important for Europe and the world as a whole.

These were the main ideas we discussed.

[Kocherov] What, in your view, should be done today to forestall war?

[Norrback] As long as man has existed, he has probably sought a wise solution to this question. As you are aware, I have no personal memories of the war. However, I have heard so much about it, I have seen so many of its consequences, that I sincerely hope that we can prevent war in the future. In relations between countries and peoples a great deal hinges on trust. If there is trust, then all the preconditions for a peaceful future exist.

New Finnish Ambassador Presents Credentials

PM1506162588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] On 7 June in the Kremlin Heikki Talvitie, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Finland, presented his credentials to P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Presenting his credentials, the ambassador conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government and people from President M. Koivisto. He stressed that relations embodying the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutual trust are developing successfully on the firm basis of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid between the USSR and Finland. In the international arena Finland is acting for the good of strengthening peace and security between peoples and seeks to promote disarmament and the further development of the all-European process.

Receiving the credentials, P.N. Demichev expressed his sincere gratitude for the greetings and in his turn conveyed good wishes to the president, government, and people of Finland from the Soviet leadership. The Soviet people, he said, feel sympathetic toward and have respect for Finland and for its industrious and talented people. We are not only connected by geography and history. The main factor that has brought and continues to bring our countries and peoples together is the firm and logical course of the two states in developing relations and an equal and mutually enriching partnership. Unity of aims in international affairs was reflected in the package of initiatives put forward in Murmansk by M.S. Gorbachev on reducing military confrontation and developing broad, peaceful cooperation in the north and in the views on confidence-building measures in the north European maritime regions expressed by the Finnish president.

The Soviet people note with satisfaction the high level of Soviet-Finnish ties which are developing dynamically and fruitfully. The mechanism of political, economic, and humanitarian cooperation is working reliably. Constant high-level dialogue has become an integral part of our collaboration.

After the presentation of the credentials and the exchange of speeches between P.N. Demichev and H. Talvitie a conversation took place in which certain questions of Soviet-Finnish relations and also international problems were discussed. It was stressed that bilateral relations, which incorporate those qualities of which the modern world is in acute need, have real international significance. They deserve to be described as the specific embodiment of the new political thinking.

T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, took part in the conversation.

Briefs

Scientific Accord With Italy

Rome June 15 TASS—Further development of cooperation between scientists of Italy and the USSR in the solution of common problems of humanity is the purpose of an agreement signed here today between the USSR Academy of Sciences, on the one hand, and the National Research Council of Italy, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, and the National Institute of Nuclear Physics, on the other. This document envisages a series of joint research, exchange of experience and scientific achievements, the holding of international symposiums and congresses in the areas of environmental protection, biochemistry, mathematics, astrophysics, cosmic-ray physics, etc. [Excerpt] [*LD1606004288 Moscow TASS in English 2050 GMT 15 Jun 88*]

Latin America & Caribbean

Foreign Ministry Official on Central America

PA1506145588 Mexico City EL DIA in Spanish 7 Jun 88 p 14

[Interview with Yuriy Pavlov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's First Latin American Department, by Enriqueta Cabrera in Moscow on 6 June]

[Text] E.C.: What is the Soviet position on the Central American problem?

Y.P.: Our position on Central America is that, just as in other regions and countries, the Central American problems must be solved by the peoples who live in those countries, without foreign interference. In this case, the five Central American countries must solve their own problems with the help of the Contadora and Support Groups. There must be a Latin American solution to the conflict.

E.C.: What proposal did the Soviet Union make to the United State on the Central American problem during the discussion of regional conflicts during the Moscow summit?

Y.P.: We expressed the view that there are now more favorable conditions for a peaceful, political solution in Central America. Thanks to Nicaragua's very flexible attitude, the Sapoa agreement is in effect, as is the Esquipulas agreement. There is a cease-fire in Nicaragua, and the Sandinist government is negotiating with the contra leaders to conclude a permanent cease-fire agreement and to create conditions for a stable peace in Nicaragua. This would be very important for a peaceful solution to the regional conflict.

E.C.: From the Soviet viewpoint, what are the origins of the so-called Central American problem?

Y.P.: From our viewpoint, and this viewpoint was confirmed by the Kissinger Commission report, there are very important historical reasons: social and economic problems in the countries of the area, colonial interference, social injustice, mass poverty, and lack of land for the peasants. There are very deep problems. Instead of solving those problems, what is occurring in Nicaragua and in other Central American countries is that these countries' social and economic progress is being hindered. Many material resources are spent and human lives lost in these internal struggles motivated by foreign interference. Without massive foreign aid, the Nicaraguan contras would not last even 1 year. This is why the war continues.

E.C.: What does the Soviet Union consider Contadora's main contribution to the solution of the Central American conflict?

Y.P.: The importance of Contadora's efforts cannot be underestimated, because I think it is mainly thanks to Contadora that the armed conflict did not lead to a general conflict in the area. The political pressures were overcome because the most important countries of the area—countries that have an influence on the international scene—played a role. The Contadora countries have made a direct military intervention by the region's northern neighbors much more difficult. They have led the most active efforts of the countries of the area. Without Contadora, the most active efforts by the countries of the area could not have taken place. Without Contadora, one cannot think of the Arias plan or the Guatemalan plans. The Contadora members laid the groundwork for them.

E.C.: Would it be advisable to freeze the shipment of arms to Central America?

Y.P.: We completely agree with that. The proposal we made last year still stands: to drastically reduce the shipment of arms to Central America on a basis mutually agreed upon by the the United States and the other countries. We have even expanded the proposal, suggesting that we declare a moratorium until the fulfillment of the Contadora [as published] agreements.

E.C.: But that proposal has not been accepted. It was not included in the joint communique signed by the United States and the Soviet Union during the Moscow summit. Why not?

Y.P.: The United States has made some public statements indicating that it has commitments with those it considers its democratic friends in the area and that it must continue providing military aid to its friends.

E.C.: You recently met in Rome with a U.S. delegation and discussed the Central American problem. Could you tell us what is the sense of holding such meetings if, as you said a moment ago, there is no East-West conflict in Central America?

Y.P.: These exchanges of ideas stem from an agreement between Mr Reagan and Comrade Gorbachev when they held their first meeting in Geneva in November 1985.

They agreed that both sides would have meetings on regional conflicts at the experts' level each year. It is not to decide things or make decisions behind the backs of the peoples or governments of these areas. It is to clarify the two sides' own attitudes and positions, to better understand their positions, and, if possible, to cooperate by creating a situation more favorable to a peaceful solution to these conflicts.

We have already held a number of meetings in this regard. One was in Washington, then in Moscow last year, in London in October, and this April in Rome.

E.C.: After four meetings, do you think there has been some change?

Y.P.: I would say one cannot separate some meetings from the others. But if one compares the last meeting in April with the one held 2 years ago, one can conclude that the atmosphere is more favorable. We spoke with fewer polemics, with more sincerity, and with a desire to best confirm each other's attitudes, not by making charges or countercharges but by making efforts to understand and clarify the situations.

E.C.: Has Mikhail Gorbachev been invited to visit Mexico? Will he be making a visit soon?

Y.P.: Comrade Gorbachev has received this very kind invitation from the Mexican Government, but so far there is no specific date for this visit. There are also invitations from some other Latin American countries—Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Uruguay, Colombia, and Cuba—but so far there are no concrete plans. It depends on circumstances.

E.C.: It is often said that you are trying to weaken U.S. ties with the Central American countries.

Y.P.: We do not aim to weaken the ties of some Central American countries or of Latin America in general with the United States. We understand very well that there are very close traditional ties and that there is economic interdependence between Latin America and the United States. Each country has its own policy, however, and the countries of the area decide their policy and ties. We do nothing to weaken the regional countries' ties with the United States or any other country.

E.C.: You know the feelings of the Latin American peoples. What repercussions does the ratification of the treaty eliminating intermediate- and short-range missiles have?

Y.P.: It is not a great step in physical or material terms, because these intermediate-range missiles comprise only 3 or 4 percent of the two countries' nuclear arsenal. It is the first step in disarmament, however, because in the past we had talked about arms control and numbers of weapons, but not a single missile or nuclear warhead was eliminated. We have now taken this step, and we are working on the draft treaty to reduce strategic, offensive weapons by 50 percent. This involves the major part of our nuclear arsenals, so this would be much more significant.

For the Soviet Union, however, this is only the beginning, because we want to free the world of the threat of nuclear war. We do not share the view that the modern world cannot live without nuclear weapons.

E.C.: The USSR has said a reduction in armed confrontations might result in greater political trust among the superpowers and the rest of the world. Would the reduction in armed confrontation have a positive influence on the regional conflicts?

Y.P.: Yes, of course; everything is very closely linked. If there are solutions to regional conflicts, for example, in Afghanistan, this has an influence in other parts of the world. It influences our relations with the United States and leads to a more favorable climate.

E.C.: The Soviet Union has proposed that the various international conflicts be dealt with by avoiding radical methods and instead by finding negotiated political solutions. Could you explain this?

Y.P.: This is part of what we call new political thought. In modern times, the preservation of human life prevails over the interests of religious or political groups. Whatever the interests of those groups, they should not forget the main interest of achieving peace.

Cables Exchanged With Alfonsin on National Day

PM1506150988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Exchange of Messages"]

[Text] In connection with Argentina's National Day, the 178th anniversary of the May Revolution, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent a cable to President Raul Ricardo Alfonsin of the Republic of Argentina expressing sincere congratulations and best wishes for prosperity and happiness to the friendly Argentine people. The cable also notes the high level of relations between the USSR and Argentina and expresses confidence that they will continue to deepen to the benefit of the peoples of both countries and in the interests of world peace and security.

In his reply President Raul Ricardo Alfonsin expresses profound gratitude on the part of the government and the people of Argentina for the kind congratulations.

Emergency Supplies Sent to Cuban Flood Areas

PM1506130988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Flood Victims"]

[Text] The USSR Union of Societies of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent Executive Committee and the Soviet Peace Foundation Board have adopted a decision to offer emergency relief to the flood-stricken population of Cuba's central provinces. Aeroflot aircraft will ship medicine, bandages, blankets, and necessities to Cuba.

Envoy to Venezuela Receives Trinidad Portfolio

PM1506125588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 Second Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "Chronicle"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Vladimir Maksimovich Goncharenko, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Venezuela, also USSR nonresidential ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Trinidad and Tobago.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Comrade Vayno Iosipovich Vyalyas, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Nicaragua, of his duties as USSR nonresidential ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Trinidad and Tobago.

Political & Social

Further on Renewed Armenia, Azerbaijan Unrest

Azerbaijanis Return to Homes

NC1606075288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 15 Jun 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Newspapers affiliated with AZERINFORM have reported that, according to the information that has been made available by Musa Mamedov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, over 4,000 persons moved from the Armenian SSR to our republic as of 14 June 1988. Centers have been set up in Baku and in a number of rayons to welcome and resettle them.

However, as a result of the work that has been carried out, a large number of these persons have returned to their homes in the (?Krasnakef), Yekhegnadzorskiy, (?Pusiyan), and Azizbekovskiy Rayons in the Armenian SSR.

Supreme Soviet Session Described

NC1606083088 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Dear listeners, you have already heard in our report that the 7th Session of the 11th Convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet was held at the Stepan Shahumyan Hall. Our newscast today is entirely devoted to a report by (Stepan Maluntsyan) on the session's proceedings.

[Begin recording] Today's session was [words indistinct] (?in nature). [Name indistinct], chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, opened the session.

The participants paid tribute to the victims of Sumgait.

The following agenda was unanimously approved.

1. Organizational matters.

2. The decision of the extraordinary session of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR dated 20 February 1988, petitioning the supreme soviets of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's to transfer the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR.

3. The fulfillment of the remarks and proposals made by the standing commissions and deputies of Armenia's Supreme Soviet during the 5th and 6th Sessions of the 11th Convocation.

4. The ratification of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decrees.

Deputy Yuriy Kochetkov, second secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, reviewed the first issue.

The session unanimously agreed to relieve Deputy Ildirim Aziz ogly Bagirov of his duties as deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, replacing him with Deputy Z.K. Kurbanov, who was relieved of his duties as member of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Youth Affairs. The session also unanimously decided to relieve Deputy Karen Demirchyan of his duties as member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, appointing Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, as member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Deputy Norayr Ayvazyan was relieved of his duties as chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Agro-Industrial Commission and was replaced by Deputy (Marlen Gevorkyan).

The session [words indistinct] the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet's Standing Committee for Nationalities Relations and Internationalist Education [words indistinct] appointing Deputy Eduard Mirzoyan as chairman of the committee.

The second issue on the agenda—the decision of the extraordinary session of the oblast Soviet of Peoples' Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR dated 20 February 1988, petitioning the supreme soviets of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's to transfer the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR—was discussed by Deputy Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Views were exchanged on (?various issues).

Speeches were made by Deputy [name indistinct] Stepanyan, teacher of Yerevan's (Gayeh) secondary school; Deputy Hovik Abramyan, head of the (Yerevanshin) [word indistinct] brigade; Deputy (Saripet Vartanyan), head of the [word indistinct] kolkhoz; Deputy Grachik Simonyan, (?member) of the CPSU Central Committee's Marxist-Leninist [words indistinct] and director of the Armenian Communist Party History Institute; and others, all of whom spoke [word indistinct] about the issues being discussed. [end recording]

Arutyunyan Adresses Session

NC1606110888 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Speech by Deputy Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, at the 7th Session of the 11th Convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet on 15 June—recorded]

[Text] Respectable comrade deputies of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet: We are discussing (?a number of issues) today that have deeply (?roused) the concern of all the republic's workers and of all the Armenian people.

The Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the republic's government have closely studied the decision adopted at the session of the Soviet of Peoples' Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR. These bodies have deemed it necessary to present this issue to this Supreme Soviet session for study after having taken into consideration the (?realities) in the republic and the [word indistinct] wish of the majority of the population.

In their speeches, the deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet discussed the proposal of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's deputies, and gave a positive reply to it. This manifests the will of our people. Because we manifest the will of the people, we cannot but listen to their voice. (?As you can understand), this is not a (?simple) decision for us. We all live in a multinational country. It is, therefore, (?a matter of concern) for us how the hearts and minds of the people of the USSR will react to this decision.

For our part, naturally, we (?understand) that our [word indistinct] decision (?touches upon) the feelings of the Azerbaijani people, with whom we sincerely want to live in an atmosphere of friendly and goodneighborly relations. Each people has democratic and constitutional rights. We are cognizant of the fact that the Azerbaijan SSR has the right to its own opinion. However, we will (?greatly regret) it if that opinion does not coincide with our (?opinion). We have reached a responsible and decisive verdict. We also expect each citizen of the republic and, first and foremost, each deputy, to act according to the same code of conduct.

Each person should measure his feelings against the fate of the people, their present and future, and correctly consider the realities, because [word indistinct] and (?unwise) acts could have grave consequencies.

The current session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet is taking place at a significant and difficult time. Our country is on the eve of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which will pave the historical course of our people's progress and development. That conference also will [words indistinct] the processes of reconstruction, and will be a determining (?event), because the issue is the future of the country and of all of us. On the occasion of the 19th all-union conference, the CPSU Central Committee's topics are being studied throughout the country. Everywhere [word indistinct] are propagated on the destiny of reconstruction. Our republic is no exception. However, on our behalf, the preparations for the congress, the study of the topics which will be discussed at the congress, and the difficult and [word indistinct] processes of democratization, [word indistinct] with the problems related to incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh [words indistinct] during the past 4 months.

Comrade deputies, the tragic incidents in Sumgait stirred all of us deeply. In the name of the Armenian SSR CP Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, the republic's Council of Ministers, and all our people, we strongly condemn those crimes, and we extend our deep and sincere condolences to the families and relatives of the victims.

You know already that there are 702 families in the republic who have moved from Sumgait. The republic's leadership is exerting great efforts to solve their housing and employment problems. To date, permanent housing for 616 families of 2,527 citizens in 15 cities of the republic has been arranged. These activities are continuing.

The recent [word indistinct] meetings and strikes in Nagorno-Karabakh markedly exacerbated the already tense and difficult situation in our republic. We can understand our people's [word indistinct] and feelings. However, respectable comrades, let us (?sincerely) [word indistinct]. Let us try to free ourselves from [word indistinct] (?feelings) and [word indistinct], and (?from private) [word indistinct], and to compare these with the current incidents and with the global issues facing our country. The last few months have become the scale by which we measure the [word indistinct] (?behavior) of the party, the leadership of soviet organizations, and all the people. Incidents in these months brought to light a series of defects in the (?operation) of the party, the soviet organizations, and the mass media, (?showing a lack) of readiness to function under unusual conditions and an inability to sincerely (?face) the people and [word indistinct].

We are all learning democracy, and we are doing so under difficult and unusual conditions. Therefore, it is extremely necessary that we (?balance) the people's public (?behavior) with their political culture, that we are able to hear the views of others, that we (?are able) to adopt alternative decisions, and that we maintain high (?public order) and regard with deep respect (?whatever pertains) to maintaining (?order). (?It is inappropriate to abandon everything) [words indistinct]. Regrettably, during recent days we have (?observed) a behavior that not only falls outside the framework of the constitutional rights of the Soviet people but also violates the laws of [word indistinct] (?coexistence). Let us make a sincere vow that under such tense and sometimes [word indistinct] (?situations), we will (?forever) display self-restraint and [word indistinct] and (?avoid emotionalism).

I want to refer, first and foremost, to the [word indistinct] of the strikers and to the strikes, as well as to the issues [word indistinct] on the Supreme Soviet deputies, to the nighttime incidents in the streets, to the meetings held in front of party and government office buildings, and to the (?expression) of extreme (?personal feelings) [words indistinct]. From the floor of the Supreme Soviet, I would like to point out once again that (?it is very

important) for us today to display healthy [word indistinct], self-restraint, high [word indistinct] responsibility, and political [word indistinct]. Therefore, I appeal to the workers, kolkhoz members, intellectuals, our youth, and all those who cherish our people's destiny and who respect and (?honor) the republic.

The incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh have created interethnic tension. They have created [words indistinct] in various circles in both Azerbaijan and in our republic. Our peoples have lived as neighbors for centuries, and they will have to live together forever. There are interethnic problems that stem from the distant past. However, these problems can be solved [word indistinct]. They should be solved on a bilateral basis and in a civilized way (?on the basis) of the [word indistinct] of the socialist nationalities, by taking the interests of (?all the republics), as well as of each person, into consideration.

The CPSU Central Committee is paying great attention to the incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh and to the situation that has arisen. At a time when our country is [word indistinct] (?toward development), the party (?will grant the) necessary attention to the [words indistinct] of Nagorno-Karabakh and to the solution of political and sociocultural problems. It is the (?sincere) desire of our two peoples to (?emerge) from the incidents that have taken place in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it. Our two peoples (?also want to see) steps taken toward bringing about a normalization of this situation. The peoples' mutual trust [word indistinct] and the solution of ethnic cultural and sociopolitical (?development) problems [words indistinct]. (?Therefore), we should defend our people's (?honor) and respect, its internationalistic (?spirit), its (?feelings), as well as the (?solidarity and harmony) of our multinational homeland. Thank you for your attention.

Armenian Resolution Cited

NC1606090688 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 16 Jun 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] KOMMUNIST publishes the resolution of the [15 June session of the] Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR, which resolves:

1. To study all aspects of the decision of the extraordinary session of the Soviet of Peoples Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR dated 20 February 1988, and, considering the tense situation created in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as the will expressed by the Armenian population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the Armenian SSR, guided by Article 70 of the Constitution of the USSR on the right of free self-determination by nations, to consent to the entry of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast into the structure of the Armenian SSR;

2. To request the Supreme Soviet of the USSR consider and settle positively the question of the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the structure of the Azerbaijan SSR into the structure of the Armenian SSR; and

3. To address the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR in the hope that such a resolution will not disturb the traditional good-neighborly relations between the two republics but will be received by the Azerbaijani people with understanding.

The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR also adopted a resolution condemning the atrocities [zlodeyanie] committed in the town of Sumgait, Azerbaijan SSR. It also adopted a resolution on setting up a permanent commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR on questions of interethnic relations and internationalist education. Deputy Eduard Mikhaylovich Mirzoyan was elected chairman of this commission.

The session also ratified laws of the Armenian SSR and other resolutions of the Supreme Soviet. The 7th Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR of the 11th Convocation then concluded its work.

Azerbaijan Procurator Rejects Demand

LD1606092588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] The procurator of Azerbaijan has unequivocally rejected the view that the Karabakh mountain region be annexed to Armenia. Procurator Ismaylov gave an interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP, which appears 1 day after the Armenian parliament unanimously voted for the demand that the territory in question should be part of Armenia.

The Azerbaijani lawyer, however, sees no kind of historical, social, or economic reason for this. He also argues with the observation of the Moscow central papers that the bloody disturbances that took place in the Karabakh mountain region were connected with the low standard of living there. At the same time Procurator Ismaylov acknowledges to the MAGYAR HIRLAP correspondent, who has been on the spot, that the general strike is continuing in the Karabakh mountain region.

Armenian Decision Reported

PM1606100988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] Yerevan, 15 Jun—The progress in acting on the comments and proposals of the permanent commissions and deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet submitted at the previous two sessions were discussed at the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet's seventh session held here today.

The report of the republic's government on this question delivered by F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers, paid special attention to measures to accelerate the implementation of the instructions and requirements of the school reform. It was noted that study plans for the 11-grade school have been elaborated and approved in the republic and that work on the pupils' international education is being stepped up. The network of schools with the in-depth study of the Russian language has been expanded. A comprehensive plan has been elaborated for developing the vocational and technical education system with a consideration for transferring the training of skilled worker cadres to a contract basis. At the same time, the session pointed out, the pace and quality of the implementation of the school reform remain low. The soviets of people's deputies are engaging only slackly in questions of the consolidation of national education's material and technical base. Every fifth school and nearly half of vocational and technical colleges are located in buildings which do not comply with normative requirements. The provision of preschool institutions is also low. Much has to be done for the stepping up of pupils' labor education and young people's vocational guidance.

The deputies were also briefed on additional measures taken by the republic's Council of Ministers to accelerate the solution of tasks in the field of scientific and technical progress, the social sphere, the economy, science, and culture.

The session examined the question "of the decision of the 20 February 1988 extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan SSR'S Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies 'on the petition to the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR supreme soviets on the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR.'" It decreed that consent be given to the inclusion of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in the Armenian SSR. The republic's Supreme Soviet has requested that the USSR Supreme Soviet examine this question.

A permanent commission of inter-nation [mezhnatsionalnyye] relations and international education was formed at the session.

TASS Correction to Armenian Karabakh Decision

Moscow TASS in English at 1810 GMT on 15 June transmits a "corrected version" of the item subheaded "Karabakh Decision Reported" published in the 15 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 41. The corrected TASS version reads as follows:

Column one, paragraph two, last line reads: "...the Armenian SSR.'

"It decided to give consent to the inclusion of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region in the Armenian SSR. The republic's Supreme Soviet requested the USSR Supreme Soviet to consider this issue." (rephrasing to delete reference to Azerbaijani SSR Supreme Soviet)

Karabakh Strife 'Blow to Perestroyka'

PM1606105588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 88 p 4

[R. Guseynov article: "Home Under a Common Roof. Reflecting on Events in and Around Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] Everyone who was born and grew up in his home town knows many places that are near and dear to his heart. You go to them yourself frequently and bring your friends. For a resident of Yerevan these are Matenadaran—the repository of ancient manuscripts—the temple of Echmiadzin, and the monument to the victims of the 1915 genocide. I do not think I will be mistaken if I say that a resident of Baku is always moved by a meeting with the narrow little streets, the old fortress, the stately palace of the Shirvanshahs, the well-proportioned silhouette of the Maiden's Tower, and the expanse of the Maritime Boulevard. Practically every guest visits the Memorial to the 26 Baku Commissars. There, in the very heart of proletarian Baku, the remains of the noblest people were committed to the earth. For the enemy aiming at the very heart of the revolution they were the single, united embodiment of the new thing that had come to the land of Azerbaijan. Since these people could not be disunited, they were killed. Stepan Shaumyan, Meshadi Azizbekov, Ivan Fioletov, Alesha Dzhaparidze. An Armenian, an Azerbaijani, a Russian, a Georgian. Monuments have been erected to each of these people—in Moscow, Baku, Yerevan, Tbilisi. But the chief one is here, for here they are together.

You have many thoughts when you bow your head before the hot Eternal Flame. The noise of the big city, which cannot be stopped for a single minute, dies away behind your back, and the branches of the plane trees rustle, remembering the fine young faces in Red Army helmets and Special Duties Unit caps. These faces, sorrowfully set in stone, are turned toward the future. One of the most important of their behests to their descendants was to strengthen and develop the internationalist traditions of the Transcaucasian proletariat.

In another spot in Baku a remarkable Leninist Bolshevik, to whom fell the lot of continuing the cause of the Baku commissars—Sergey Mironovich Kirov—has raised his hand high over the city.

Addressing the First All-Union Congress of Soviets during the memorable days of December 1922, S.M. Kirov, who headed the Azerbaijan Communist Party at that time, spoke these heartfelt and moving words: "We all remember the old Russia. We know the basic precept of

the tsarist regime: oppression, humiliation, national persecution. We remember how back in our childhood we were sung songs which told how some crazy people lived there, in the remote and wild outlying regions, who, like the Chechens, for example, did nothing but indefatigably creep ashore and sharpen their daggers. You remember how everything was done to make individual ethnic groups groan beneath the jackboot which was then triumphant in Russia. And only now, 5 years later, have we secured the full possibility of coming together in a single whole, in a unified fraternal family. Avidly embracing each other, on this solemn day we proclaim: 'Long live the USSR!'"

It appears profoundly symbolic that the Baku Palace of Peoples' Friendship is situated here, next to the monument to Kirov. The various exhibits in the form of photographs, documents, and other items of historical evidence reveal amazing pages of the great friendship linking our country's peoples and nations.

In this museum there is a map which is unique of its kind. It shows the Azerbaijan SSR's international ties with the fraternal Soviet republics. Here it is possible to learn that 45 of the republic's cities and rayons cooperate with 68 cities and rayons in the country. Labor collectives of enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes maintain close production, sociopolitical, and cultural ties with 656 organizations in the fraternal republics. Under today's conditions of economic accountability [khozraschet] and radical economic reform any tiny interruption in the work of one enterprise has a painful effect on the whole chain. And these interruptions happen. Thousands of people in Stepanakert do not turn up for work; a large part of the Armenians who left Azerbaijan refuse to go back there; hundreds of Azerbaijani refugees living in Armenia have again turned up in Baku.

An old friend of mine recently telephoned from Yerevan. We had studied together in Moscow and lived for several years in the same room in a hostel. We are still friends and meet frequently. I understand what troubles and concerns him today. "When will this end?" he asked me in alarm. If only I could answer him.... Hundreds of letters are reaching KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and other publications nowadays. They express pain, bewilderment, and the desire to understand people who do not turn up at work at present, to be aware how blood could have been shed nowadays. The letters come not only from Azerbaijan and Armenia. People write from all over the country. The Nagorno-karabakh Autonomous Oblast is a tiny spot on the map, but all the problems of the stagnation time have become graphically interwoven there. The arbitrary rule of the local corrupt leadership, indifference toward the oblast's problems on the part of republic organs, neglect in the sociocultural sphere, just as, incidentally, in many other parts of the republic. I well remember Boris Sarkisovich Kevorkov, former first secretary of the party obkom, recently expelled from the party. A haughty, cold look from behind eyeglasses, lordly ways. He liked to make people wait in the waiting room, and he himself decided where to put up guests who had come to Stepanakert on a business trip. Maybe in a guest house with disciplined servants, maybe in a de luxe room in the city hotel, maybe in a room for visitors in a squalid rayon hostelry. Kevorkov is Armenian by nationality, and his wife is Azerbaijani—which is, in fact, a common phenomenon in this mountainous region. Is what I am writing about this man today a discovery, a revelation? Probably not. People in the republic knew this, as well as the fact that there are many shashlik houses, snack bars, and dining rooms around Stepanakert, which does not have a Pioneer Palace. Put up in a slapdash way and sometimes resembling badly made stage scenery, they have, nonetheless, produced an income that is not at all sham. I will repeat: This was known. But Kevorkov—an unscrupulous leader who was concerned about nothing but his own career—was comfortable. For his chiefs he knew how to be unquestioning, he would pour on [word illegible] in good time, and he would "support" and "approve" and, when ordered to do so, expose. Together with everyone he would proclaim this hypocritical slogan without blushing: "Thank you, dear Leonid Ilich, for your concern and attention for Azerbaijan!"

Loud slogans, awards, red banners, beating of drums—there was enough of all this in the republic in the recent past. But there was insufficient concrete concern for the people living in Nagorno-Karabakh and regard for the national features of that region. Serious shortcomings in resolving the socioeconomic problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast were spoken of at a recent Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee plenum.

But let us return to the letters piled up on my work desk. They include ones which breathe overt malice and hatred and are imbued with the spirit of double-dyed nationalism. It is said that the hand and style of a letter can convey the writer's character. Some of these letters have been signed by respected and even well known people. There are letters which it is particularly painful to read—signed by children, schoolchildren. Whose evil hand guides them, forgetting the chief thing that unites us? I would like to believe that this is a temporary blindness and that reason will still conquer emotions. Homespun historians send out mutually exclusive photocopies of geographic maps to dozens of addresses, find "evidence" among ancient Greek and Roman historians, and juggle with quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Unfortunately, on looking into remote history, they forget to ask their parents: How did Armenians and Azerbaijanis live together 50, 30, or 20 years ago, work together, send their sons and fathers off to the front, and support each other in difficult times? They do not want to recall their comrade at home, their colleague, or, perhaps, the patient in the next hospital bed after a battle when one covered the other on the hot Afghan soil, sharing the hot shrapnel between them. Restraint and reason are particularly important now. This applies

more to people with an authoritative voice, whose opinion is heeded. Unfortunately, it sometimes turns out differently. The incompetent statements about the future of Nagorno-Karabakh made to a Paris newspaper by a well known economist last November made many people indignant and are still reverberating.

The events concerning Nagorno-Karabakh have reverberated throughout the country. A government decision was taken to give the area extensive assistance. This program is being implemented and the first concrete results are already evident. New questions and new problems are arising too. Some are being solved right away, others needs to be studied and scrutinized. Plenums of the Armenian and Azerbaijan Communist Parties' central committees elected new leaders. To those who have worked in the Komsomol for a long time their names are well known. Abdulrakhman Vezirov was head of the Azerbaijan Komsomol and worked for many years as a Komsomol Central Committee secretary. Suren Arutyunyan, chief of the Armenian Komsomol, replaced Vezirov as Komsomol Central Committee secretary. There is in this a symbol of hope. The two vigorous and competent leaders started their work at a joint encounter. A difficult road lies ahead. It is necessary to clear away the obstacles of many years and transform the consciousness of many people and it will perhaps require much personal courage to understand and accept the viewpoint of a fraternal people, feel a neighbor's pain as if it is one's own, and renounce personal interest for the sake of the common interest. Let us help them in this!

There is something else I want to say. What is happening over Nagorno-Karabakh is a blow to restructuring, perhaps the most serious one of late. It is a challenge to the ideals generated by glasnost and it is a chance for the conservatives to assert their viewpoint.

Who stands to gain? Who wants all this? Whose wicked will triumphs when enterprises in Stepanakert come to a stop, losing the USSR economy millions, when a hunger strike is organized in Yerevan's Teatralnaya Square and the evil hand of the provocateur raises a nationalist slogan in Baku?

Democracy is freedom of expression. Democracy is the right to express one's view, but not impose it on everyone else. Glasnost is an opportunity to declare one's position, but not abuse others in so doing.

To put it all down to the Western democracies is a strange thing to do. They drop tools or go on hunger strike whenever they like over there, apparently. Yet, in a Belfast jail some years ago, some young people from Northern Ireland died one after another, despairing of seeing peace in their land. But is that the example we must follow? The zealous advocates of Western "freedoms" would hardly take to the practice of dispersing demonstrators with rubber bullets in Britain, tear gas in South Korea, and firearms in South Africa.

I am not afraid of appearing to be a conservative, but I believe that the organs of Soviet power and forces of law and order must not treat with indifference the holding of rallies and demonstrations that upset the normal rhythm and life of a city and the actions of the demonstrators. Freedom to hold demonstrations and rallies must be defined by corresponding regulations and not turn into anarchy.

By managing to overcome only 5 years after the October Revolution the former distrust and alienation between working people of different nationalities, the party was able to create the world's first united, federal, multinational socialist state. There were difficulties on this path, there were the Stalinist distortions for which we are paying dearly even now, but one thing is clear: The Bolshevik Party was the first practical embodiment of Lenin's ideas and principles in the sphere of national relations and nationalities policy. In his well-known letter to M. Gorkiy V.I. Lenin wrote: "In the Caucasus too we have had Georgian plus Armenian plus Tatar plus Russian Social Democrats working together in a single social democratic organization for more than 10 years. This is not just talk, it is a proletarian solution of the nationalities question. The only solution."

The experience of the CPSU and of our country massively increased socialism's prestige as the social system that put a stop to man's exploitation of man and to one nation's oppression of another. Unique in the history of mankind is the fact that over one-fourth of a billion people of various nationalities are living in our country. Today the Soviet people are caught up in the spirit of restructuring and its vitality. Not everyone likes this.

The experience of the USSR and the other fraternal countries of the socialist community makes it possible to compare not only two worlds and two ways of life, but also two approaches to solving nationality problems.

One can confidently say that national relations in our country are a real-life, living question. Here, more than anywhere else, it is necessary to display the utmost attention and tact in anything to do with people's national interests or national feelings.

To be frank, for many years we often blamed the shortcomings in the ideological sphere, the conservatism and double standards of our propaganda services, and, consequently, any problems on the ideological opponents. Today one sees the other extreme. In analyzing our own shortcomings and the consequences of our own errors, we must not forget that the mechanism of imperialist propaganda has not come to a halt, that it has not slowed down at all. The desire to dismantle the socialist system and erode the ideals we worked so hard to attain is still in evidence.

Major bourgeois philosophers write about ethnic feuding as a natural state arising out of human nature. There are constant claims about an alleged subsconscious, biological mutual enmity between representatives of differents races and nations.

So they try to portray nationalism as a natural social phenomenon, irrespective of the social system.

Radio propaganda conducted in the languages of the USSR peoples is constantly appealing to the listeners' national feelings. Whenever it has needed to kindle nationalist feelings, sentiments, and prejudices, the bourgeoisie has always speculated on the special features of nationalism. The use of nationalism in anti-Soviet ideological sabotage is one of bourgeois propaganda's chief tools.

...I remember what a beautiful symbol the annual meetings on the Red Bridge, where Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan meet, was of the friendship and fraternity of the peoples of the three Transcaucasian republics. Over the years it has kind of lost its sheen and become commonplace. The clinking of glasses and the ardent toasts have not been replaced by painstaking, persistent work.

In the initial years of Soviet power the young Soviet Republic was often called a "home under a common roof." Everyone can see what this wise metaphor means. We really are living in a common home, built by our own hands. Evidently, we have to remind the people who are rocking one of the walls that the home has a common roof.

Armenians Asked Not To Send Food Aid to NKAO

PM1606124588 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 1 Jun 88 p 1

[ARMENPRESS "Report"]

[Text] The republic's leading organs are now receiving many letters which note that there is allegedly a shortage of necessary food products in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. On the basis of these rumors individuals in many organizations and educational establishments have begun to collect foodstuffs for the oblast population.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast leadership has announced that the oblast's population has no need of additional foodstuffs and has requested that products not be dispatched to Nagorno-Karabakh.

Estonian First Secretary Vayno Replaced

LD1606143188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Today a plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee examined an organizational issue. In connection with his recall to be put at the disposal of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Vayno has been released from his duties as first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

Comrade Vyalyas has been elected first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. He had been working previous to this as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Nicaragua and earlier as secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

A speech was made at the plenum by Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Baltic Commemorations of Stalin Victims Noted

PM1506141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS reports under the general heading "Echo of Far-Off Days"]

[Text] Riga, 14 Jun—The desire to revive historical justice, restore the good name of the innocent victims of the Stalin personality cult years, and support the party's course of restructuring today brought thousands of residents along with people who had traveled from various cities and regions of Latvia to a square in one of Riga's parks.

Among those attending the rally were many who had borne the brunt of the mass repressions of June 1941 and March 1949. One can empathize with their bitter memories of that time, when thousands of families were expelled from the republic. The public figures, party workers, journalists, scientists, and young people's representatives who spoke at the rally assessed these unjustified actions as a bitter period of history. The speakers included delegates to the 19th all-union party conference. There were also many representatives from self-motivated organizations. One such organization was the environmental protection club which organized the rally in conjunction with the Latvian SSR Youth Organizations Committee.

The creation in the republic of a special commission to examine appeals from people illegally expelled from Latvia in 1941 and 1949 is seen as a result of the real democratization of Soviet society and is a tribute to justice. The first appeals have already been examined. People have not only obtained moral satisfaction from the official conclusion about their lack of guilt, but the commission has also decided to make good any material damage they suffered.

At a suggestion from the public supported by the republic's leadership it is planned to erect a memorial to those who innocently suffered during the years of the personality cult. Donations for its erection were collected by

rally participants, among whom were people of various ages and nationalities. For the victims of the tyranny included Letts, Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Belorussians, and Jews.

The same evening the glorious sons of the people and eminent party and state figures who died in the late thirties after falling victim to Stalin's tyranny were remembered. Bunches of flowers were laid at the foot of the monuments to them.

The importance of consolidating all forces of restructuring was stressed in the speech by A.V. Gorbunov, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

The day of remembrance was also marked in other cities in the republic.

Vilnius, 14 Jun—A rally in memory of the victims of the period of the Stalin personality cult—the second such rally in the last 4 weeks—was held this evening in Gedimino Square.

On 21 May thousands of people who had assembled on the initiative of Lithuania's creative unions and other public organizations unanimously condemned the illegality of those times. This time around 500 people gathered. They expressed their sorrow and pain in remembering illegal acts.

The speakers spoke approvingly of the democratization process and the renewal of society taking place in the USSR. At the same time, certain individuals, exploiting sincere feelings and the public's indignation, tried to impart a demagogic overtone to the rally and make it nationalistic in nature.

Religious and national songs were sung and those present paid tribute to the victims of Stalinism with a minute's silence.

The rally—nobody had given the city authorities prior notice of its organization—lasted 15 minutes. There were no breaches of the peace.

Tallinn, 14 Jun—The date 14 June 1941 is a tragic one for many Estonian families. It was then that Stalin's administrative and bureaucratic system illegally expelled thousands of families from Soviet Estonia. The meetings and rallies held today in Tallinn and certain other cities in the republic were an echo of those events in people's hearts.

Popular Estonian music collectives appearing in the concert hall of the republic's capital dedicated their performances to the memory of those who suffered innocently.

In Tartu and Pyarnu representatives of the public laid wreaths and lit candles at the graves of those who died. Anna Akhmatova's "Requiem" was read in Estonian by actors from the Tartu Theater. A. Saunanen, second secretary of Tartu party gorkom, was among the speakers at the meetings. He talked about the tragic fate of his father, who was one of the victims of the tyranny.

Zaykov Visits Cooperatives Exhibition

PM1506140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Cooperative Workers' Contribution to the Capital"]

[Text] More than 1,000 cooperatives of various types operating in the capital are making a weighty contribution to meeting Muscovites' growing requirements for goods and services. This is a specific sign of the restructuring of our economic and social life.

The successes and problems of the cooperative movement were examined 9 June by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, together with the city's party, soviet, and economic leaders at an exhibition of Moscow cooperative workers' achievements which is now on.

The exhibition represents the activity of 60 cooperatives working in the sphere of consumer goods production, consumer services, and public catering. It was stressed that the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the recently adopted USSR law visibly embody Lenin's ideas on the cooperative system. The capital's party, soviet, and economic organs must uncover and remove the reasons slowing down the broad development of the cooperatives' work and give them practical assistance, providing them with premises, raw materials and supplies, and the requisite financial support. The demand for goods and services must be studied in greater depth, the energy of cooperative workers and people engaged in individual labor activity must be channeled into those spheres where the population's needs are particularly great, and these workers must be given preferential treatment.

Ukrainian Donetsk Obkom Chief Mironov Dies

AU1606092388 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 12 Jun 88 p 1

["From the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers in deep sorrow inform that, after a long illness, Vasiliy Petrovich Mironov, CPSU Central Committee member, USSR

Supreme Soviet deputy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member, and Donetsk Obkom first secretary, died on 11 June at the age of 63.

To organize the funeral, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has set up a commission in the following composition: Comrades S.I. Gurenko (chairman), V.A. Sologub, A.I. Korniyenko, A.Ya. Vinnik, V.G. Kucherenko, V.G. Ignatov, and A.D. Polishchuk.

The funeral will be held in the city of Donetsk on 14 June.

Gorbachev, Others Sign Obituary

PM1506110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jun 88 Second Edition p 8

[Obituary of Vasiliy Petrovich Mironov]

[Excerpts] Vasiliy Petrovich Mironov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and first secretary of the Donetsk Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, died following a serious illness at the age of 63 years on 11 June 1988. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov, A.P. Biryukova, A.F. Dobrynin, A.I. Lukyanov, V.A. Medvedev, I.V. Kapitonov, N. Ye. Kruchina, Ye.Z. Razumov, I.A. Gerasimov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, V.A. Ivashko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, I.A. Mozgovoy, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, K.I. Masik, Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, L.F. Bezlepkina, A.Ya. Vinnik, G.P. Yerkhov, V.G. Kucherenko, S.F. Povazhnyy, Yu.S. Usatenko.

Mironov Buried

LD1406220388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Communists and the working people of Donetsk Oblast have seen off on his final journey Vasiliy Petrovich Mironov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, first secretary of the Donetsk Obkom.

The hall where the coffin holding the body of the deceased was placed was in funeral garb. There were many wreaths in the hall including one from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

The honors which had been bestowed on Vasiliy Petrovich Mironov for his services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state were lying on red velvet. There was a funeral meeting at the cemetery where he was buried.

Leaders Sign Composer's Obituary

PM1406142188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jun 88 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Nazib Gayazovich Zhiganov]

[Excerpts] Soviet multinational music has suffered a grievous loss. The outstanding Soviet composer Hero of Socialist Labor Nazib Gayazovich Zhiganov, people's artist of the USSR, winner of USSR State Prizes, secretary of the USSR Composers Union Board, and rector of the Kazan State Conservatory, has died at age 77. [passage omitted]

V.I. Vorotnikov, Ye.K. Ligachev, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, G.P. Razumovskiy, N.V. Talyzin, G.I. Usmanov, Yu.P. Voronov, Yu.A. Sklyarov, V.G. Zakharov, T.N. Khrennikov, F.A. Tabeyev, Ye.M. Chekharin, S.A. Shalayev, I.K. Arkhipova, A.A. Belyayev, Ye.V. Zaytsev, Z.G. Ismagilov, M.M. Kazhlayev, V.I. Kazenin, R.G. Kosacheva, Yu.S. Melentyev, Sh.A. Mustayev, I.A. Naumenko, V.V. Panchenko, A.N. Pakhmutova, I.Ye. Popov, Ye.F. Svetlanov, G.V. Sviridov, B.M. Terentyev, A.G. Flyarkovskiy, K.S. Khachaturyan, A.N. Kholminov, A.V. Chaykovskiy, B.A. Chaykovskiy, M.Sh. Shaymiyev, R.K. Shchedrin, A.Ya. Eshpay, B.V. Yampilov, M.Z. Yarullin.

Return of Kiev Monastery to Church Noted

PM1406144188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent S. Tsikora report under the rubric "In Republic Governments": "Kiev-Pechery Holy Places Turned Over to the Church"]

[Text] The patriarchal exarch of the Ukraine, Metropolitan Filaret, has returned to Kiev from the session of the General Synod in Zagorsk. Special circumstances prompted the hasty departure from the festivities of the No 2 in the Russian Orthodox Church after the Moscow Patriarch. Having considered the request of the Ukrainian exarch, the government of Soviet Ukraine has decreed that a number of religious buildings and architectural monuments of the Kiev-Pechery state reserve are to be handed over for use by the church. Metropolitan Filaret arrived to attend the ceremonial presentation of this document.

The presentation took place on 7 June in the building of the Council for Religious Affairs. The government document's finish met the highest standards of printing art. Bound in deep-red leather and embossed with the republic's coat of arms, the government document was printed

in a script of rare beauty. It was signed by V. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, and K. Boyko, administrator of affairs of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers.

On the instructions of the republic government, the document was handed over by N. Kolesnik, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, who said, addressing the metropolitan and representatives of the Orthodox clergy:

Dozens of churches have been handed over to believers in the Ukraine this year. The handing over of part of the Kiev-Pechery reserve to the exarchate is a reflection of the government's realistic approach to the religious issue, a reflection of the unity between words and deeds in respect of believers, and a strengthening of socialist legality in relations between the state and the church, in other words, a reflection of the restructuring taking place today in all spheres of our society's life.

Among the buildings turned over to the Ukrainian exarchate are the famous Far Caves, the site of the oldest monastic settlement, two ancient churches, a belltower, cell buildings, a burial ground, and territories on which the Antoniy and Fedosiy sources are located. These places have entered the history of our people and church as a stronghold of Russian Orthodoxy, as the place where some of the greatest spiritual values of the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian people originated.

Metropolitan Filaret thanked the Ukrainian government for being able to light the icon lamp at the cradle of Russian monastic life and said that the Russian Orthodox Church will utilize the new opportunities which it has been given to firmly establish goodwill on earth and peace and friendship between peoples.

The festive ceremony was attended and addressed by Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of the Anglican Church, who is a guest of the Moscow Patriarchate.

Firemen Avert Runaway Boiler Disaster

PM1606130588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 May 88 First Edition p 6

[V. Romanchin report under the rubric "Incidents": "The Boiler Did Not Shut Down"]

[Text] Had the soda regeneration boiler in the building of the TETS at the Svetogorsk pulp and paper combine exploded, we would be reporting damage worth millions of rubles and heavy casualties in human life. Luckily, this did not happen. Skillful intervention in the critical situation by the TETS personnel and timely and prompt assistance from Svetogorsk, Vyborg, and the Finnish border district of Lappeenranta fire fighters averted what seemed an inevitable calamity.

...It all began when, late at night, the lights suddenly went out in Svetogorsk. The city was in darkness for almost 2 hours. Work at enterprises came to a halt. And so did the powerful electrical pump which supplies water to the soda regeneration boiler at the power station. The duty staff immediately grasped the whole complexity of the situation which had developed. Continued operation of the boiler would lead to its complete destruction and could create a dangerous situation at the combine. Acting strictly in compliance with instructions, they tried to switch off the boiler and halt its operation.

However, instead of cooling down, the boiler began to heat up, said M. Sokolov, deputy chief of the Leningrad City and Oblast fire fighting service administration. The temperature inside the boiler rose to 800-900 degrees. It could not continue operating for long in such a critical state without water. The incandescent pipes began to burn through.

When the fire fighters arrived at the scene, the 40-meter-high boiler was in flames. The ceilings of the TETS building caught fire. Fire-fighting teams from Vyborg and detachments of Finnish fire fighters arrived to give assistance. For 2 hours they waged a fierce and ultimately victorious struggle against the fire.

Foreign Travel Procedures Simplified

PM1406153588 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 24, 11-17 Jun 88, (Signed to Press 9 Jun 88) p 8

[Interview with R. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR MVD Visas and Registration Department, by correspondent N. Zyatkov: "Travel Abroad"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Zyatkov] Rudolf Alekseyevich, what are the rules governing private visits to foreign countries? What restrictions are there? Can we expect a reduction in those restrictions?

[Kuznetsov] Any Soviet citizen aged 18, regardless of origin, social or property status, race or nationality, sex, education, language, or religion, can apply to leave the USSR temporarily if invited to do so from abroad.

If you have relatives or friends abroad with whom you maintain contact you must obtain an invitation from them. Having done so, a citizen applies to the internal affairs organ in his permanent place of residence, completes the necessary formalities (fills out a form and pays the stamp duty) and obtains the appropriate passport for foreign travel, so long as it is not established during the processing of the application that there are factors preventing him from leaving the USSR.

In April 1988 the procedure for allowing Soviet citizens to visit foreign countries temporarily was simplified considerably: The number of questions on the form was reduced and residential references are no longer needed. When subsequent applications are made or when a

refusal is reviewed these forms do not have to be filled out again if the information contained in them is unchanged. However, people engaged in labor activity or students have to submit a reference from their place of work or study. The USSR Ministry of Finance has established a new procedure for providing travelers with foreign currency (see ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 8, 1988).

I should like to point out that the streamlining of the procedure for the completion of documents for reciprocal visits by citizens of the USSR and other countries has been introduced throughout the USSR's territory and not only in Moscow, as some Soviet newspapers have mistakenly said.

As for restrictions on foreign travel, it should be noted that the Statute (Article 25) contains a specific list of grounds on which a passport for foreign travel may be refused. There are no grounds for refusal other than those specified in the statute.

[Zyatkov] Rudolf Alekseyevich, many readers have written in to ask: Why is it difficult to travel abroad even to the socialist countries?

[Kuznetsov] I think that those readers may have had "difficulties" in the past. If they want to visit their family or friends abroad now they should make an application and write to us if they have any problems.

However, in some parts of the country there has been a sharp increase in Soviet citizens' applications for temporary residence abroad and in invitations to visitors from abroad. In 1987 more than 550,000 Soviet and foreign citizens traveled on private business, or twice as many in 1986. Applications are continuing to rise this year. In some places this has created certain problems both for citizens and for employees of the visa and registration apparatuses, which cannot cope with the processing of documents at the present staff level. Internal affairs organs are taking measures to resolve these problems too. Help is needed from central and local organs of power.

[Zyatkov] How else have the rules on private foreign travel been simplified?

[Kuznetsov] Restrictions have been abolished on temporary visits to capitalist and developing countries to see distant relatives and friends and also on inviting them to the USSR.

In addition, travel from and into the USSR on private business is now permitted whenever necessary. Previously permission was granted for one trip a year. The period of temporary residence abroad is determined by travelers themselves.

As for USSR citizens who marry citizens from the European CEMA countries or Mongolia or who have relatives or children in those states, they can be issued with a foreign travel passport entitling them to repeated foreign travel (within a 6-month period) without needing to apply to the internal affairs organs. The stamp duty for this remains unchanged at R30.

Often people have to go abroad to visit the seriously ill or to attend relatives' funerals. In such cases we try to respond to citizens' requests as far as possible and to process their applications as quickly as we can. Depending on the particular circumstances of such trips, at present it is possible for close relatives to be accompanied by members of their families on such occasions.

[Zyatkov] Many readers who are planning trips abroad ask why it is necessary for administrative and party organs at their place of work and their spouse to approve travel of this kind?

[Kuznetsov] Yes, until recently such rules did exist. The need for citizens to submit character references, to obtain permission from the administration at their place of work or study, and to obtain the consent of party or Komsomol organs for foreign travel on private business or when inviting visitors from abroad has been abolished.

It can also be added that it is not necessary to obtain the consent of your husband or wife for a temporary stay in any country of the world.

[Zyatkov] Is that the extent of the streamlining of the regulations on private travel?

[Kuznetsov] No, it goes beyond even that. For example, permits for temporary entry by Soviet citizens resident in a European CEMA country or Mongolia must henceforth be issued immediately on the basis of applications by their friends or relatives. The same approach is used for questions of the temporary entry from those countries of Soviet citizens and foreign members of their family to areas which they are allowed to visit.

[Zyatkov] What must the degree of kinship be with the people making the invitation, including those living in capitalist countries?

[Kuznetsov] The degree of kinship with them is not of decisive significance because permission to leave is granted to close and distant relatives alike and to friends and acquaintances. Reciprocal private visits by citizens of the USSR and the socialist countries with which bilateral agreements have been concluded are particularly widespread.

[Zyatkov] Is it not possible to allow USSR citizens to travel abroad using an internal passport appropriately endorsed?

[Kuznetsov] We had an experiment in the late sixties when Soviet citizens traveled to socialist countries using internal passports with the appropriate pages inserted. It is true that these inserts were in fact independent exit documents similar to visas and carried photographs. They contained the basic information on the individual traveler. It took roughly as long to issue them as to issue a foreign travel passport. This experiment was not developed at that time for a number of reasons. Not all citizens had Soviet passports, the passport was for a fixed term, and externally the document was, to put it mildly, not very impressive. Since the new passport reform was conducted in the USSR and all citizens were issued with passports of unlimited duration this question has again appeared on the agenda and is now being examined.

[Zyatkov] Here is a question which is not very common but which is still very important for the families concerned. Can the wife and children of a man who died in Germany during the Great Patriotic War (and whose death has been notified) visit the place of burial and, if so, to whom should they apply?

[Kuznetsov] Of course they can. Initially they must apply to the Executive Committee of the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and request the precise location of the deceased's grave. Once they have the certificate from the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies they should apply to their local internal affairs organs. There is no need for a personal invitation from abroad in such cases. In addition to close relatives, members of the family are allowed to travel abroad so long as they accompany them.

There is one very important point I should like to make on this question. All services for those traveling abroad such as accommodation, road transport, and so forth must be paid for personally through the corresponding organizations which provide services to foreign tourists.

To this end they should exchange an additional sum of Soviet rubles for foreign currency.

[Zyatkov] N. Novikov, a reader from Klaypeda, asks: Is it true that people can travel by private invitation to a capitalist country (such as Finland) only after they have visited a socialist country?

[Kuznetsov] No, that is not true. There are no prior conditions for private travel to capitalist countries.

What we have been discussing is the first stage in the improvement of our law and other normative documents regarding the solution of humanitarian questions. At present the USSR MVD Main Administration for the Maintenance of Public Order, of which the Visas and Registration Department is a structural subdivision, is taking part in preparing proposals on amendments to the law governing questions of exit from and entry to the USSR with a view to further simplifying the procedure for the completion of documents and the broadening of personal contacts between Soviet people and foreign citizens.

Zagladin on Changes in Foreign Policy

PM1306145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jun 88 Second Edition p 6

[V. Zagladin article under the rubric "We Discuss the CPSU Central Committee Theses": "Following a Course of Reason and Humanism"—boldface as published]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Theses, which have been submitted for discussion by the entire party and, essentially, by the whole people, contain two kinds of points. On the one hand, they sum up the past 3 years of restructuring, while on the other they outline ways to further develop and deepen it. It is a profoundly self-critical document that ruthlessly exposes those phenomena or processes that are hindering the renewal of society. At the same time, it formulates constructive proposals whose realization will make it possible to smash the braking mechanism wherever it operates. This revolutionary-critical methodology permeates all parts of the new document, which is essentially a program document, and each of its 10 sections.

Understandably, the majority of the theses are devoted to internal political questions and to the chief tasks of further improving our society. At the same time, they also raise problems of foreign policy. Why? Above all, because restructuring itself has acquired outstanding international significance and had a powerful influence on the international atmosphere. This is now acknowledged by everyone. And, on the other hand, because restructuring, as the theses point out, "needed a foreign policy that would properly express its humanist nature." The renewal of the country's foreign policy activity has become an important part of the changes that are transforming our entire life.

I.

There is a question that Soviet people, as well as people throughout the world, have always asked themselves in alarm: Is the threat of war and nuclear conflict increasing or diminishing? The theses provide a clear, precise, and unambiguous answer to this question: "The direct threat of a war involving the major powers has diminished." This is probably the first time in a considerable number of years that our party has drawn this conclusion, which is understandably of an extremely crucial nature. It rests on the visible, tangible realities of the world situation, which is going through a process of improvement.

Yes, the restructuring of international relations has begun. How has this been achieved? Thanks to what? For not so long ago we were speaking of a shift to more lasting peace as something desirable and necessary but difficult to achieve and seemingly remote.

It cannot be said that our country was not striving to secure changes in the world arena also in the years prior to restructuring. We did strive. Good ideas were advanced to this end, and numerous initiatives were proposed. But they did not work. As M.S. Gorbachev put it in his book on restructuring, "Soviet foreign policy was skidding on the spot. The arms race was gathering new momentum. The threat of war was increasing."

Why did this skidding take place? What did we lack?

Above all—and this is clear enough now—we lacked a realistic view of the world. We looked at the reality surrounding us through the prism of customary formulas. At one time those formulas might have been right, and many of them remained correct. But, nonetheless, they did not accommodate the world in all its real complexity. And sometimes it so happened that we noticed some new phenomena but, since they did not fit within the framework of the old formulas, we endeavored not to see them, as though they simply did not exist.

We did, of course, speak of the diversity and the contradictory nature of the modern world. Nevertheless, we were far from fully aware of it. Thus, we frequently saw diversity just as a source of complexities and did not notice that it provides broad scope for mutual enrichment with other peoples' experience. The evolution of the contradictions of world development characteristic of our time—old contradictions that have long been in existence but are constantly being renewed—also was not always correctly evaluated. And we noticed such a very important new contradiction affecting the very foundations of civilization's existence as the conflict between the interests of all of mankind and the increasing exacerbation of global problems only when the whole world was already speaking of it.

We essentially did not acknowledge the interdependence of the modern world, this very important feature of its contemporary state (although we encountered its consequences literally at every step, above all in our foreign economic ties). And sometimes we perceived the thoughts of particular authors on interdependence and its consequences almost as cunning intrigues by the class enemy. Yes, of course, imperialist forces tried, are trying, and will try to use the objective interdependence of countries and peoples to strengthen the neocolonialist web, for example, and to subordinate weaker states to stronger ones. However, this is just one aspect of the matter. The other is that interdependence opens up broad prospects for the development of relations of cooperation among all countries and creates new and unprecedented opportunities for this cooperation.

Ours was the first country to speak of the nuclear threat. We were the first to advance the demand for the elimination of this threat and the prohibition of atomic and then nuclear weapons. And we waged a dogged struggle over decades to achieve those noble ends. However, we were not always logical in this. On the one hand, we spoke of the deadly threat of nuclear catastrophe while, on the other, we proceeded for a long time, for too long, from the possibility of winning a nuclear war. The CPSU Central Committee Theses point out: "In seeking military-strategic parity, in the past we did not always use the opportunity to ensure the state's security by political means and, as a result, allowed ourselves to be drawn into an arms race—which could not fail to affect the country's socioeconomic development and international position."

I could speak of many other things—of our not always adequate response to imperialism's provocative actions, of a certain underestimation of Europe's role in world affairs, and of insufficient attention toward states on other continents—Asian and Latin American states, for example. I could also mention the imperfect methods of our policy, which did not always opportunely embody in specific diplomatic actions the initiatives advanced in high-level speeches and sometimes did not devote proper attention to the phenomenon of public opinion or to proper regard for the demands of public diplomacy.

"A critical analysis of the past," the CPSU Central Committee Theses point out, "has shown that dogmatism and the subjectivist approach have also left a mark on our foreign policy. It was allowed to lag behind the fundamental changes in the world and new opportunities for reducing tension and for greater mutual understanding between peoples were not fully realized."

II.

In the foreign policy sphere, as in internal political affairs, the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum was a landmark turning point in our development. Speaking in Paris 5 months after the plenum, M.S. Gorbachev said: "Human thought does not at once adapt itself to everything new. This applies to everyone. We feel this, and we have begun reinterpreting and bringing fully into line with the new realities many ordinary things, including in the military and, of course, the political spheres." What form did this reinterpretation take?

First of all, **the new political thinking** was elaborated. For the first time in a long time our foreign policy embraced the entire contradictory novelty of the world situation on a scientific plane. Based on Marxist-Leninist methodology, on consistent realism, and on the truthful illumination of international processes, the new thinking ensured the clarity of our vision of the modern world and our understanding of the basic trends in its development. The new thinking enabled us to reach the very important conclusion that the modern world is a world of priority for values and interests common to all mankind, which, of course, are dialectically linked with all other values and interests, including the working people's class interests.

The new political thinking has made it possible to elaborate the new concept of Soviet foreign policy. This concept—consistent, logical, and according with the humanist principles of socialism and with the spirit of restructuring inside the country—is based on the conclusion that the modern world, despite its profound contradictoriness, represents a definite integrity. It is a world that combines a global threat to the very existence of the human race with tremendous potential for coexistence, cooperation, and the political resolution of acute problems.

A realistic action plan for our policy in the world arena was drawn up on the basis of this concept. It was founded on the idea of a nuclear-free world formulated in the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's statement of 15 January 1986 and on the plan to create an all-embracing system of international security approved by the 27th CPSU Congress. This program has absorbed numerous specific new ideas. Some of them were elaborated in our country, while others were advanced by various political and public forces both in the East and in the West. The party's creative thinking welded them into a unified political platform.

It is probably worth paying special attention to the last point. Our party has also renounced its monopoly on the truth in foreign policy. In a multifarious, complex world the truth can be learned only with due regard to all rational ideas, no matter who advances them. Such an approach, as we now see, produces profound, fruitful results.

Of course, the new concept and the new action plan of foreign policy have required improvements and corrections to the methods of its actions in the world arena. And this correction has been carried out. Above all, our foreign policy has fully adopted the principle of glasnost. In openly proclaiming its aims, it addresses both governments and peoples. A distinguishing feature of its style is the dialogue that enables our partners to better understand our ideas and us to better know and understand the world.

In the nuclear age state wisdom consists not in attaching paramount importance to the perfectly real differences and disagreements that undoubtedly exist when drawing up interstate relations but in seeking common, mutually acceptable, and mutually advantageous aspects when taking these differences and disagreements into account. And our diplomacy seeks to take this path, not allowing confrontational approaches and striving to eradicate them from international life. This is diplomacy of cooperation.

Our country has developed vigorous activity on the basis of the concept and the program, using methods consonant with their aims. Each point in the program was finalized in numerous and far-reaching proposals embracing all spheres of the world community's vital activity. We addressed our initiatives to the whole world, acted, above all, in conjunction with our friends, and expressed readiness to cooperate with all who are prepared to do so. "All" means states, international organizations, and public movements.

What has all this produced?

III.

The work of the entire mechanism of international relations has changed substantially in just 3 years. It probably still is not operating at full capacity nor imparting to the movement of world affairs the velocity that is needed now. But it is operating increasingly efficiently and, most importantly, producing a big return. The Soviet-U.S. summit meetings are a worthy example here. Four such meetings have already been held during the years of restructuring—just 3 years. And each of them has advanced both our relations with the United States and the cause of peace throughout the world. Broad contacts have been developed among countries and peoples—contacts in the course of which a joint search and the joint elaboration of decisions necessary to ensure peace are taking place.

Our country's initiatives have evoked a mighty wave of activity throughout the world community. Never before have our closest allies displayed such energetic creativity in the sphere of international relations. The ideas and initiatives advanced by them have appreciably enlivened the foreign policy debate and given it a new boost. At the same time, the Nonaligned Movement and the group of neutral and nonaligned countries on the European Continent have begun to play a far more active role.

We have all probably noticed how the role of international organizations—the United Nations above all—is also increasing. The ideas of the new thinking and the situation of the states' deepening interdependence are opening up new scope and new opportunities for them.

The new political thinking, which correctly reflects the increased requirements and imperatives of the modern world, has also opened up the way to a qualitative change in the awareness of the human race. Very broad masses of people inspired by the newborn hope of lasting peace have been set in motion. The people's masses are really becoming one of the most important forces in modern world politics.

All this has resulted, above all, in a change in the international atmosphere itself. The demons of confrontation are gradually retreating and yielding their positions in favor of constructive, mutually advantageous cooperation. The orientation toward a balance of power in international relations is gradually being replaced by the search for a balance of interests. Hence the successful conclusion of the work on the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, which has now come

into force. Hence the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, which make it possible to eliminate a dangerous hotbed of tension and, at the same time, show the way to resolve other local problems too.

Of course, it must not be thought that we ascribe all these positive changes only to ourselves, only to the restructuring of our foreign policy. No, we pay tribute to all who have made their contribution to the cause of changing the international climate, as well, of course, as making our corresponding assessment of the realistic changes in U.S. policy too. However, while observing necessary modesty, there is no need to belittle our own role either. The Soviet Union's contribution to the constructive evolution of world politics is widely recognized in the world, and deservedly so. "The development of events in the Soviet Union has become the key factor that has raised the situation in the world to a qualitatively new level," a report by London's International Institute for Strategic Studies, for example, points out.

The Soviet Union's international position has improved appreciably over the past 3 years. And it is very important that this has happened not as a result of increased strength but thanks to Moscow's increased peace-loving activeness and the growing trust in our country.

IV.

We must, of course, evaluate most soberly and objectively the changes that have occurred. Yes, the situation has improved significantly. "The situation in the world has become more stable and predictable," the CPSU Central Committee Theses point out. Real groundwork for the future has been created, which enables us to hope for further progress from confrontation to cooperation. But, of course, this path has only just begun. We have to do far more than has been done already in order to draw closer to the desired goal.

It is necessary, first of all, to further deepen and develop the ideas of new political thinking. On the one hand, the changes that have already occurred in the world have still been far from fully interpreted and thought out. And our leadership invites all who are ready to give this some thought to do so. On the other hand, the world is continuing to change, and each of the changes taking place requires not only thought but also theoretical and practical conclusions.

In just the same way our foreign policy concept and the action program corresponding to it also require further development. In the recent past we lost a great deal of time and missed many chances. And far from everything has yet been done to make up for lost time. And yet new tasks lie ahead.

For the time being we are striving to make the transition from confrontation to nonconfrontational cooperation. It is our aim, as defined in the CPSU Program, to create a new international order. One that will be dominated not by military force but by good-neighborliness and cooperation and will involve a broad exchange of achievements of world technology and cultural assets for the good of all peoples.

Here we have to act not less but, probably, more energetically than before. The reserves exist. In recent years we have considerably expanded the geography of our political contacts. But they now require deepening. While making progress in relations with major powers, we evidently have to develop cooperation more actively with small states, including European states, whose role in world politics is clearly growing. Latin American states and many Asian countries are displaying new facets of their potential. We are still far from being able to be satisfied with the state of our relations with Japan. Of course, we do not intend to impose our friendship on anyone, but it is clear that we cannot be permitted to miss an opportunity to improve relations. "During the years of restructuring," the CPSU Central Committee Theses state, "relations have improved or have been established for the first time with a large number of states—neighboring and very distant. And relations have not been spoiled with anyone." A portentous, weighty conclusion. But new and in many respects extraordinary efforts are needed to continue this effective course.

We also have to travel further on the path of using methods of public diplomacy. And what is needed for this—both on a global scale and within the framework of individual continents—is the increasingly dynamic explanation of our policy and our aims, which accord not only with our own interests but also with the interests of all countries and peoples.

The theses point out that restructuring demands the maximum mobilization of our society's intellectual forces. This applies, above all, to the sphere of domestic policy but also, to no less a degree, to foreign policy, particularly taking into account its boldness, its truly revolutionary nature, the innovative nature of its aims and methods, and its dynamism. This kind of foreign policy undoubtedly demands the firmest reliance on our party-minded, scientific, and, in a broad sense, public thought and presupposes the increasingly broad involvement of our aktiv in international work, in different areas and at different levels.

But the true, most reliable source of progress, including in foreign policy, is, of course, the success of restructuring itself. The 19th all-union party conference will give a new boost to our own country's development. But it will also be of tremendous significance for the whole world. In particular because it will once again demonstrate our party's loyalty to the course it has set in the international arena—a course of the humanization of international relations and the triumph of reason and humanism in world affairs.

Burlatskiy Views Parliamentarian System

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[Article by Fedor Burlatskiy, vice president of the Soviet Political Sciences Association: "On Soviet Parliamentarianism"—boldface as published]

[Text] The fundamental platform for the country's democratization—the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference—directs Communists toward active participation in debate. In this context I would like to introduce into the scope of the discussion a few ideas which have been ripening in public opinion among scientists and practitioners for several decades. It is obvious to everyone that now, 70 years after the revolution, it is time to establish a firm constitutional order. This is the point of the idea of the law-based socialist state proclaimed in the theses. In fact, this happened in all previous revolutions: The time of storms and onslaughts was succeeded by a time for consolidating gains and ensuring the normal functioning of the political system.

1. On amendments to the USSR Constitution. For the first time in the whole post-Lenin period, the Theses implement a line of radically reforming our political system. This goal was proclaimed at least twice before. The "Stalin" Constitution of the USSR was adopted in 1936, but the repressions which followed in 1937 demonstrated the real price of the proclaimed democratization. In 1961 the party program formulated the principle of the transition to a state of the whole people, but, for well-known reasons, this did not lead to the emergence of new political institutions or substantial transformations in the political system. For example, implementation of the idea of the rotation of cadres, which was formulated back at that time, is only just beginning. The USSR Constitution adopted in 1977 included many good general declarations. But the gulf between word and deed had a pernicious effect once again: No marked positive changes occurred in the political system.

Now the party has set the task of restructuring the political system in order to: 1) create firm, immutable guarantees against a recurrence of an authoritarian regime of personal power and the attendant mass repressions; 2) make the state an effective means for society's accelerated development, which means overcoming what Lenin called the bureaucratic perversion of Soviet power; 3) guarantee not only the socioeconomic but also the civic and political rights and freedoms of man.

There is a substantial difference in the approaches toward reconstructing the economic and political systems. While in the first instance a succession of many stages and a trial-and-error method, with errors which can be relatively swiftly rectified, are inevitable, the situation is different with regard to the political system. There is nothing more permanent than temporary solutions—that rule is particularly true when it comes to new laws. It is difficult, and even harmful, to change laws every 5 or 10 years because they will cease to be effective. And we rather abuse the multiplicity of laws. Four constitutions in 70 years is at least twice as many as is generally necessary. It would be sufficient to have just one constitution and to make additions and amendments to it.

Now, at the stage of institutionalizing the gains of restructuring, only radically new regulations and laws are entitled to come into being. If there is no readiness to adopt this approach, then it would be better to wait a while and then adopt laws which would operate not for just 15 years, as with previous constitutions, but for 50, 100, and even 200 years (of course, with whatever amendments are necessitated by life).

2. On the country's leader. This is one of the key questions of democratization. Although, as already noted, there has been no substantial change in the foundations of our political system, the political and ideological regime underwent fundamental changes—from Lenin to Stalin, from Stalin to Khrushchev, from Khrushchev to Brezhnev. Regardless of state posts, the Communist Party leader became the leader of the country. A pattern emerged in this process—each new party leader needed approximately 5 years to become, in one way or another, a leader towering above the other top party leaders: from 1924 to 1929 for Stalin, from 1953 to 1959 for Khrushchev, from 1964 to 1969 for Brezhnev. The struggle to gain real powers as leader of the country caused turmoil within the party and the state and resulted in either hasty one-sided decisions or a paralysis of power.

Experience has also demonstrated that the mechanism whereby the leader of the country is elected by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has serious shortcomings. Otherwise it is impossible to explain how leaders like L.I. Brezhnev and K.U. Chernenko could have found themselves at the head of our great power in a most difficult period of world history.

Bearing in mind the special importance of the post of the country's leader, it would be expedient to discuss the question of switching to a presidential principle for electing him. In our view, this presupposes, first, the election of the general secretary of the CPSU directly at the party congress, and then his running for the post of president of the USSR in a direct secret nationwide ballot. Receiving two mandates—from the leading party and from the sovereign people—would give the country's leader the necessary powers to pursue the policy he had proclaimed in advance. On the other hand, this would boost demands regarding the selection of a worthy candidate known all over the country. The establishment, in line with the Theses, of [a maximum of] two 5-year terms, or three terms in exceptional cases, for holding these two posts would create guarantees against the formation of a personal power regime. It would be useful to establish a rule that this system is deemed immutable

and cannot be revised under any circumstances. Furthermore, the USSR Supreme Soviet would be empowered to recall the president in exceptional circumstances—for example, manifest violation of the USSR Constitution or sickness.

I believe that the separation of the posts of party leader and state leader proposed by some participants in the current debate is wrong. In reality, it would lead to a struggle for personal power and total subordination of the state to the party. On the other hand, the unification of these two posts would lend a legitimate, legal nature to the practice which has existed for more than 70 years now and conforms with the political awareness of our people, who personify supreme power. The presidential principle has shown its superiority in the Western democracies by ensuring stability of government. It is also successfully applied in several East European socialist countries.

The country's president would be given powers to submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet the composition of his cabinet, which would replace the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which has no government powers. The cabinet would include the main ministers and would decide the most important affairs of state. The president would submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet his nominee for the post of chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who, in turn, would submit the names of ministers dealing with problems of running the economy and with questions of culture and social life. The president's main functions, apart from the aforementioned, would be to implement foreign policy and overall leadership of the preparation of laws and other crucial legislative acts of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He would play the role of supreme commander in chief of all the USSR Armed Forces. In these conditions, labor collectives and public organizations would really turn into organs of economic, social, and cultural self-management.

The presidential principle was being discussed already at the time of the "thaw," and N.S. Khrushchev inclined toward it but did not have time to do anything. L.I. Brezhnev borrowed elements that impressed him personally—the combination of the supreme party and state posts—and discarded the democratic essence of the matter.

Furthermore, it would probably be expedient to institute the post of vice president of the republic. It is well known that L.I. Brezhnev's lengthy illness after 1974 resulted in stagnation in state decision-making. Fortunately, there was no real threat of nuclear attack, otherwise it is impossible to imagine how this sick man could have made decisions in a matter of a few minutes. In the event of illness or other extraordinary circumstances there must be a deputy automatically vested with presidential powers for the short time until fresh elections.

3. On the development of party democracy. The 19th party conference brings us back to the traditions of Lenin's conferences, but at the same time it is unprecedented. As M.S. Gorbachev stressed, it must be an event of crucial importance for the entire cause of revolutionary restructuring. Consequently, its powers are also unprecedented.

The purpose of pluralism of opinions within the party is to take full account of two main traditions. The first is the Lenin tradition, which combines socialism and democracy, and [the second is] the Stalin tradition, which establishes an authoritarian regime. Whether we like it or not, the political awareness of Communists and of the whole people still reflects these two traditions, and the Stalin tradition is actually reinforced by the age-old experience of our peoples' authoritarian-patriarchal culture. It is important to ensure that the struggle between these traditions takes place in civilized forms, does not develop into a conflict, and leads to constructive solutions, thus helping the further consolidation of the Lenin tradition and consequently of the revolutionary restructuring.

In this context it would be expedient to make changes to the CPSU Statutes on the following points: On party organizations' right to discuss general problems of party policy; on the mechanism of subordination of the party's executive organs to its representative organs; on the election, replacement, and accountability of cadres; on party pluralism of opinions and freedom of criticism right up to [the stage of] decision-making; on guarantees for minorities after decisions have been made; on a Communist's right to defense in the event of a party accusation; and on the duty, honor, and dignity of party members. It is important to guarantee by appropriate measures the principle of glasnost and freedom to express opinions, the right to criticize, and the inadmissibility of persecution for criticism.

The reorientation of cadre policy with a view to extensively involving in party work genuine enthusiasts for revolutionary restructuring is also historically justified. It is time to overcome the prejudice against the party intelligentsia—the most educated and talented organizers and specialists in particular spheres. The struggle that took place in the late twenties and the thirties did not only concern ideological differences. It was also a struggle between different cultural strata in the party. As theoreticians, orators, and specialists Bukharin, Rykov, Rudzutak, and Kirov were head and shoulders above those who replaced them. The same thing happened in other areas: One need only compare Tukhachevskiy and Blyukher with Timoshenko and Kulik.

Major figures with a high level of training and morality have now arrived and are arriving in the top echelon of leadership of the party. This new trend should be extended to all levels of party leadership. Under the

conditions of glasnost, mass television, radio, and newspapers, leadership posts should be filled by figures of substance who can naturally grow in the eyes of the public.

The principle of the election, replaceability, and accountability of leaders is of particular importance. This principle of Lenin's should in practice replace the Stalinist practice of the "nomination and placement of cadres."

I think that the time has come to overcome the political illusion that leads to people being elected to party forums on the basis of their production successes. Such successes should be rewarded—morally and materially—in the production unit. Politics and management, as Lenin repeatedly stressed, require special qualities; namely, high social and political activeness, independence of judgment, boldness, and innovation—in short, the ability to make a personal contribution to the cause of revolutionary restructuring.

4. On the Soviet parliament. The principle of separation of functions proclaimed in the Theses ought perhaps to be extended by formulating the principle of the separation of power, functions, and decisionmaking rights among the different institutions of our political system.

Experience has shown that the concentration of power in the hands of a single organ (party or state) led ultimately to the excessive concentration of power in the hands of a single person noted by Lenin—which had tragic consequences under Stalin and revealed its complete inefficiency during the Brezhnev era. It was probably wrong to have rejected the ideas of the great revolutionary democrats of the past on the separation of the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. Therefore we must give each political institution—the USSR Supreme Soviet, the president and his cabinet, judicial organs, including the Constitutional Court—the right to make independent and final decisions within the bounds of their powers. Under such conditions, to use Lenin's expression, the party leads indirectly, but all the more correctly.

In order to fully implement the Theses' provisions on the subordination of executive organs to representative organs, it would be expedient, in accordance with Lenin's plan, to turn the USSR Supreme Soviet into a permanent Soviet parliament. This presupposes that this organ would assemble for fall, spring, and winter sessions and sit every day. A country of 285 million can afford to pay for 700-800 permanent deputies. Then they would be able to really express the pluralism of opinions existing in society, to prepare laws carefully, and to control the activity of executive organs—above all, by means of the real right to distribute finances and resources.

There is an urgent need for a new approach to nominations for the soviets. They should include only people who are known to the electorate as serious figures aware of socially significant problems and able to resolve them in practice. The number of personnel of executive organs elected to the soviets should be reduced to a minimum. Even under Stalin most ministers were not members of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

5. The reform of the state apparatus is no less important. A great deal is currently being written against bureaucratism. But this problem will be solved not by noisy tricks, but by scientifically organized management, since management will long need professionals and, consequently, "bureaucrats." Furthermore, we should not lose sight of practical experience. The terrible tirades against bureaucratism in the twenties did not prevent the emergence of the personality cult, and this cult itself exploited antibureaucratic slogans during the "great purge" [otstrel] of the thirties. The "Cultural Revolution" in China was also accompanied by these slogans. As a result the only thing to change was the "bureaucratic" cadres: Some left, others came in—but in what way were they better than their predecessors?...

So the problem should be put on a scientific footing. This presupposes: 1) the subordination of the apparatus to representative organs, to the party and nonparty masses; 2) the rational organization of management through the skillful distribution of functions; 3) the nomination or election (it is impossible to elect everyone) of really capable organizers and professionals; 4) replaceability—the replacement of incapable people automatically at a certain age or in accordance with a democratic procedure. There is yet another problem—alternative public activity for representatives of the apparatus. Then nobody would cling to their office chair and people themselves would resign when they were not impressed by a new leadership and its policies, for instance.

6. A central problem is to guarantee civic and political human rights. If there are no active citizens there will be no active modern workers equal to the demands of the age. The criticism of liberalization voiced in the press takes no account of our past experience. Russia had certain elements of democratic traditions (communes, the Zemstvos, the Duma, and others) but it never had any liberal tradition—namely, of individual independence from state interference, or any concept of inalienable human rights. It was thought—and still is—that we are all servants of the state. But the state has no special interests of its own apart from the interests of the people, otherwise they would only be the interests of the bureaucracy. The state is the servant of society and the citizens who maintain its apparatus. With this approach the importance of the human rights problem becomes clear.

As is stressed in the Theses, the judicial system, which is called upon to be an independent form of power, needs fundamental reform. Next, the number of workers in the judiciary should be increased several times over, their

wages and social status should be raised, and independent relations with local party and state organs should be established. The courts' main role is to rapidly and effectively defend individuals' violated social, economic, civic, and political rights.

In developing the Theses' provision it would be worth discussing questions such as the creation of a panel of people's assessors (jury) for the most important criminal cases; the abolition of capital punishment (as was done by Lenin in the early twenties); the abolition of imprisonment for so-called anti-Soviet agitation (other forms of influence would suffice); and the sharp restriction of criminal sanctions for all crimes in accordance with the principle that the law is effective when it is irreversible, rather than when it is harsh.

It is necessary to provide a clear legal definition of the guarantees and unavoidable limits for the implementation of socialist pluralism of opinions, glasnost, freedom of convictions and conscience, the right to assembly, and the right to demonstrate and hold rallies, so as to rule out both administrative arbitrariness and crowd disturbances.

Perhaps it would be worth thinking about including in the USSR Constitution a special amendment on real guarantees for Soviet citizens' civic and political rights and freedoms which would simultaneously define people's obligations with regard to others, society, and the state.

The introduction of additions and amendments to the CPSU Statutes and the USSR Constitution and the ratification of new laws is only the beginning.

As party documents stress, it will require enormous effort to turn laws and other norms into political practice and particularly to foster a socialist and democratic political culture among the people.

Economic Institute Official Interviewed on Theses

LD1606092488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Interview with Professor Boris Abramovich Rayzberg, doctor of technical and economic sciences and head of a department at the Economic Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Gosplan, by "our correspondent"; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Rayzberg] The Theses are the first document which brings together into one whole all the main points and aspects of restructuring—the ideological, political, economic, social, and governing. Now, part of the Theses deals with the introduction of new democratic forms of organizing the leadership of the party and the soviets. The fundamental novelty is obvious and is felt in an obvious way. But in those sections of the Theses which are devoted to economic restructuring and intensifying scientific and technological progress, the spirit of novelty and determination is not so strong and perhaps is not even felt at all. Against a background of a realistic analysis of the unfavorable state of affairs and the correct, though already familiar, appeals and declarations about restructuring, one cannot see specific program actions which need to be implemented in order to ensure success in the cardinal reform of economic management and in order to overcome the obvious centers that are showing resistance, slowing things down, and which bring [word indistinct] out of the zone of uncertainty.

[Correspondent] Boris Abramovich, during your reading of the Theses, did you discover any controversial things? I would like you to tell me about precisely these, and about any proposals. You no doubt already have some proposals for the 19th party conference.

[Rayzberg] Well something that is in itself of indisputable and exceptional importance is the clause on the need to intensify political discussion on the keen questions of socialism. For some reason, it is immediately supplemented by a vague, in my view, phrase which runs thus: While supporting a diversity of views, the CPSU Central Committee stresses that discussions are only fruitful on the basis of socialism and in the name of socialism.

[Correspondent] We have so many opinions of what socialism is, therefore some will say that this is socialism, while others will say that it is not on the basis of socialism.

[Rayzberg] Yes, that is precisely it. We are ourselves setting the task, and not just this alone. It is not without reason that the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee himself calls for us to search for an answer to the question: What, strictly speaking, is socialism? How then, under such conditions, should one see the only-on-the-basis-of-socialism requirement, and who is to judge what is on the basis and what is not. The call for discussions to be conducted only in the name of socialism, despite its outward irreproachableness, seems even to be socially dangerous. After all, it gives the stronger the right to silence his opponent by saying: Now you are conducting the discussion not in the name of socialism; and he who is not with us, as we know, is against us.

Why, even during the period of restructuring can we not bring ourselves to overcome the fear of free discussions? Why are we afraid that someone will begin discussion in the name of capitalism? Of course, as the Theses correctly state, discussions should not lead to political confrontation, to the alienation of forces. After all, this does not depend on the subject of discussions but on the way in which they are conducted. It is precisely illogical restrictions that could lead to antagonism. I think that the propaganda of war, violence, national and racial strife, and exclusiveness, actions officially recognized by

society as amoral, should undoubtedly be banned. Now it would be good for the Theses to have spoken about this, in order to once again firmly consolidate our constitutional tenets.

[Correspondent] Your main sphere is economics. Speaking to practical and theoretical economists, I increasingly come to the conclusion that the Law on State Enterprises is, on the whole, not functioning.

[Rayzberg] The second economic section of the Theses has turned out to be poorer than the rest. One can even see blank spaces in it. First and foremost is the problem of ownership, or rather developing the notion of forms of socialist ownership and effective means of implementing them. We are all witnesses to the sharp rise of cooperative ownership; this is essential. But where is personal ownership going? It is particularly unclear what will happen to ownership of the means of production. Should it be restricted as before, or, on the contrary, developed? I mean personal ownership here. Things are even more complicated with what has become known as state ownership. After all, it is not clear to whom it in actual fact belongs. I think that this main form of ownership should be brought closer to people, to the family, to social groups and collectives, so that it ceases to belong to no one and finally acquires an owner.

What also troubles me is that the Theses avoid the problem of a radical restructuring of planning. Meanwhile, it is precisely now that the problem of combining a centralized plan and financial autonomy has risen most acutely.

It is necessary to seek realistic ways to move away from directive state plans to partly binding, partly directing, and partly advisory state plans. No socially organized system, as Marx and Lenin taught, can exist without direction or without planning. Engels too spoke very vividly about this. That, after all, is not the point. The point is that it is necessary to find rational forms of combining planning and the economic independence of commodity-money, or even market relations. The capitalists have found their own form of combination. We must find our form. This does not mean removing planning from the agenda; it means reducing the level of centralized directive planning until it stops hindering the free planning of enterprises and the development of commodity-money relationships. We are unable to find that borderline. Therefore certain, as it were, ardent marketeers start, in general, to even declare—journalists in particular—that planning is virtually the main obstacle. But that is not actually the case.

There is also bureaucracy, which is slowing down the movement of economic reform. First, there must be a different system for promoting cadres to leadership positions, which would be liable to [word indistinct] that would not allow a potential bureaucrat to occupy that position.

[Correspondent] You mean national elections?

[Rayzberg] Yes, an electoral system. What is meant is a periodical renewal, a change of leaders. I think that a further weapon against bureaucracy is not only the adoption of the Law on the Enterprise, but the adoption of a law on state bodies limiting the power of those bodies and their possibilities, and forbidding them categorically, in legislative bodies, to make decisions which impede the independent and democratic nature of the basic unit—the enterprise, the association, the collective. It would be nice if the conference somehow reflected questions and problems connected with a rational combination of centralized planning and decentralization, and the independence of commodity-money relationships. Giving our planning, to a greater degree, such an organizing, strategic, and normatively regulating (function) rather than one relating to volume and, as it were, compulsory even as regards state orders, can be reduced to a minimum, and they can be transferred to a contractual basis.

Official Sums Up Delegate Elections

FM1406084188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jun 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

["Our interview" with Ye.Z. Razumov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, by V.S. Kozhemyako, editor of PRAVDA's Party Life Desk: "An Important Stage in Preparations for the Conference"; date and place not given—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The elections of delegates for the 19th all-union party conference have ended in party organizations. This crucial political campaign was the focus of public attention and was widely covered by the news media. Its course and results remain the topic of lively discussion. In this context, V.S. Kozhemyako, editor of PRAVDA's Party Life Desk, asked Ye.Z. Razumov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, to answer several questions.

[Kozhemyako] Yevgeniy Zotovich, the elections of party conference delegates have aroused tremendous interest among Communists and all working people. What could you say about the course of the elections, what are their specific features?

[Razumov] This interest in the elections was no accident. It is well known that party conferences assemble between CPSU congresses to discuss topical questions of party policy. On this occasion, delegates were being elected for a party forum which will have to make some exceptionally important decisions, decisions that M.S. Gorbachev has described as fateful, decisions that are meant to give a new and mighty boost to the processes of Soviet society's revolutionary renewal.

No party conferences have been held since 1941. The current CPSU Statutes do not regulate the procedure for holding party conferences, saying only that the procedure is determined by the CPSU Central Committee.

In connection with the convening of the 19th all-union party conference, the Central Committee had to solve afresh numerous political and organizational questions. They had to be solved in the atmosphere prevailing in the country and the party since the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress, in the conditions of strengthening restructuring and of democratization of social and internal party life.

One such question was the procedure for electing conference delegates. It differs substantially from the procedure for determining the composition of party congress delegates. It is well known that congress delegates are elected by oblast and kray party conferences and republic communist party congresses, which are preceded by report and election meetings in primary party organizations and by rayon and city party conferences. As regards delegates for the 19th all-union party conference, the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum decided that they should be elected by closed (secret) ballots at obkom, kraykom, and union republic communist party central committee plenums (except in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan, where delegates were elected at party obkom plenums). The Central Committee plenum also established the norm for representation: 1 conference delegate per 3,780 party members. A total of approximately 5,000 delegates had to be elected.

The Central Committee did not give local party organs any quotas regarding the composition of delegates (in terms of occupation, social status, sex, age, and so on). The main political guideline boiled down to the requirement that the most authoritative party members who had proved themselves through their active stance and specific deeds in the process of restructuring should be elected as conference delegates.

The right to submit proposals for delegate nominations to party committee plenums was granted to collective organs—the bureaus of obkoms, kraykoms, and union republic communist party central committees. Moreover, the CPSU Central Committee recommended that, prior to the submission of proposals, party committees should consult primary party organizations, labor collectives, and party gorkoms and raykoms about the possible candidates.

This, in principle, was how these questions were solved at local level. As a rule, the discussion of nominations took place at open party meetings, where the most deserving candidates were selected from among what was usually a large number of nominations. Subsequently, some party committees discussed the nominations at cluster [kustovyye] meetings of Communists, others at rayon aktiv meetings, and in some places at raykom and gorkom plenums. As a result of the discussions, the range of possible candidates was naturally narrowed. Nominations were often put forward in press, television, and radio material or in letters and appeals to party committees.

This procedure for selecting delegates made it possible to better consider the opinion of a wide range of Communists and working people's opinion and to discuss the proposed candidates in a collegial fashion.

[Kozhemyako] There were press reports that there were violations in holding the elections in a number of instances and that nominees were imposed "from above" in places. How correct are these claims?

[Razumov] It must be said with the utmost clarity that the Central Committee has no information at all indicating that the procedure it laid down for election of delegates was violated in any substantial way. True, not all party committees proved sufficiently prepared for solving these questions in an atmosphere of openness, broad glasnost, and genuine consultation with the party and nonparty masses. Unfortunately, there were some irregularities and instances of formalism.

In Kaliningrad, for example, comrades nominated by party organizations as possible candidates were initially invited to attend a party obkom plenum, but the invitations were hastily withdrawn later on. Of course, this tactlessness did not pass unnoticed. The discussion of candidates for election as delegates was needlessly rushed in places, which aroused censure.

Some articles voice complaints that comrades who, in the authors' opinion, deserved to be conference delegates were not elected. What can you say? You can only express joy that so many active and authoritative champions of restructuring emerged in the course of the nomination and discussion of candidates. We were spoiled for choice, as it were. It is obvious that not every deserving person could have been elected—after all, the number of delegates is limited. Be that as it may, however, the election or nonelection of a given comrade must not give rise to grievances or ambitions.

Lamenting the supposedly insufficiently democratic procedure for elections, and voicing regrets that representatives of some specific party organization did not end up among the delegates, the authors of some articles essentially overlook the procedure of discussing proposed candidates at party committee plenums. And yet this procedure was quite democratic. Party committee members had a real chance to examine any number of possible candidates. There were no restrictions as regards the number of candidates they could reject or of other candidates they could nominate and add to the lists as they saw fit.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, the discussion of candidates was active, at times sharp, but amicable. For example, the Krasnodar party kraykom plenum was addressed by 57 speakers, the Irkutsk Obkom plenum by 72, and the Lvov Obkom plenum by 115.

The decision on the actual number and identity of nominees to be included on the secret ballot lists was made collectively by party committee members. And by them alone. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, for example, nominated and included on the ballot list more candidates than the actual number of delegates due to be elected. In other cases they limited themselves to the number that party committees were entitled to elect according to the set norm of representation. This procedure may or may not be to everyone's liking, but there were no deviations from the procedure established by the CPSU Central Committee or from the party statutes.

During the process of electing delegates, Communists and nonparty people advised or criticized individual leaders of party and other organs and formulated mandates. Sometimes criticisms were also voiced after elections had taken place. These remarks were not ignored. For example, when it became clear the P.I. Tretyakov, first secretary of the Sakhalin CPSU Obkom, did not enjoy due support from the oblast's Communists and population, the question was submitted for examination by a party obkom plenum. P.I. Tretyakov resigned as conference delegate and asked to be relieved of his post. The plenum decided to elect a new delegate and to replace the obkom first secretary.

One more point. A number of personnel of central party and state organs, foreign policy departments, news media, and creative unions were elected as conference delegates. In this process, personnel of central organs were recommended for election by party committee plenums on general grounds. Each nomination could be discussed without any restrictions or reservations. It is appropriate to mention that, in the overwhelming majority of cases, the proposals to elect these comrades met with approval. There were also instances when questions were raised and critical remarks were made. Serious complaints were made against Comrade V.G. Arkhipov, RSFSR minister of the fuel industry, at the Kemerovo party obkom plenum; against Comrade A.I. Iyevlev, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, at the Stavropol Kraykom plenum; and against USSR Minister of Geology Comrade Ye.A. Kozlovskiy at the Yakutsk Obkom plenum. But they were elected as conference delegates in secret ballots. Let me reiterate that no deviations at all from the delegate election procedure established by the CPSU Central Committee or violations of the prerogatives of local party committees were allowed to occur.

[Kozhemyako] What is your opinion about the overall composition of delegates for the all-union party conference?

[Razumov] So far, the information on the composition of delegates has not been summed up. This information will be submitted to the party conference by its credentials commission. Nonetheless, I would like to say that deserving Communists have been elected for the conference. Any attempts to make out that "candidates were imposed" or that the election results "are disappointing" are groundless. I would also say this: Such generalizations reflect their originators' desire to cast doubts on the delegates' ability to successfully resolve the questions on the conference agenda.

In actual fact, we have the impression that the main political guideline of the CPSU Central Committee has been observed—the delegates come from among the active supporters of restructuring. You need only mention the names of just some delegates. Among them are famous miners Ye.I. Drozdetskiy and A.Ya. Kolesnikov; steel maker K.E. Romazanov; construction industry worker N.I. Travkin; production association leaders A.I. Chabanov and V.P. Kabaidze; agricultural production innovators V.A. Starodubtsev and I.P. Senko; machine operator N.V. Gellert; scientists B.Ye. Paton, G.I. Marchuk, A.A. Nikonov, and L.I. Abalkin; literary figures and artists V.V. Karpov, K.Yu. Lavrov, M.A. Ulyanov, T.Ye. Abuladze, A.V. Vasnetsov, Ch. Aytmatov, Ya.Ya. Peters, and T.N. Khrennikov; journalist I.A. Vasilyev; children's home director A.P. Khlebushkina, and many, many others.

As regards the social composition of delegates, let me give just some individual examples. The Moscow city party organization elected 319 delegates. One in four of them is a worker, while one-fourth of the total are representatives of science, culture, public education, and health care. The total number of delegates from the Donetsk party organization includes 44 workers, the majority of whom are members of labor collective councils and 6 of whom head the councils.

In short, these are people who will bring sensible experience of practical work to the all-union forum of Communists, people who will actively support the course of society's revolutionary renewal, will elaborate a program for the deepening of restructuring, and will live up to the great hopes of the party and the people.

Issue of Party Conference Delegates Reviewed

PM1006153488 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
5 Jun 88 p9

[Giulietto Chiesa dispatch: "Last-Minute Compromise on Delegates in Moscow"]

[Text] Moscow—The order from the capital's Communists is: "Carry perestroyka forward with determination." This was the headline yesterday in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA's full-page account of the Moscow party committee plenum that marked the end—with some losses on both sides—of the battle for the election

of the 319 delegates to the 19th all-union party conference. The battle was waged until the last moment and continued at the plenum in Gorbachev's presence but began much earlier, when it emerged that many rayon organizations were acting to exclude from the lists of delegates a group of intellectuals that had adopted a resolute stance in favor of perestroyka.

The toughest struggles took place in Sebastopolskiy, Oktyabrskiy, Frunzenskiy, and Sverdlovskiy rayons. The most hotly contested cases occurred in Sverdlovskiy Rayon (which turned down the candidacy of Yuriy Afanasyev, director of the Historical Records Institute) and in Leninskiy Rayon (which rejected the candidacy of Gavriil Popov, head of Moscow University's economics department.) However the names of other very prominent Soviet cultural figures were also turned down, such as those of Academician Leonid Abalkin, one of the fathers of the economic reform; Tatyana Zaslavskaya, president of the Sociology Institute; Elem Klimov, first secretary of the Cinematographers Union; and Nikolay Shmelev, author of combative articles that have sparked sharp controversies. Other rejects include playwrights Aleksey Gelman and Mikhail Shatrov, literary critic Yuriy Karyakin, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI editor Yegor Yakovlev, OGONEK editor Vitaliy Korotich, theater director Oleg Yefremov, and many more.

Some of the exclusions seemed too sensational to pass unobserved, especially since times have changed, and university students openly reacted against Popov's rejection, while students at the Historical Records Institute (who proposed Yuriy Afanasyev by 267 votes in favor and 1 against) requested explanations and sent a petition to the party Central Committee. The newspapers started "waging campaigns" and signatures were gathered in the streets. It was a fully fledged and unprecedented election campaign, not obstructed by the party (as Moscow party chief Lev Zaykov pointed out.) Then, once the rayon meetings were over, there was a meeting of the city secretariat (extended to include the capital's 32 rayon first secretaries.) It was here that there emerged from above a proposal (Zaykov made it clear that it was the only one) for a "correction," for the reinstatement of a number of prominent figures. The city secretariat was firmly behind a number of figures—such as Yuriy Afanasyev, who had been turned down in favor of 22-year-old student Vitalina Trifonenko—and their names were voted onto the final list of candidates, albeit not unanimously.

From the list of proposed reinstatements a total of four more were approved, following what appears to have been a very tough debate—Abalkin, Baklanov (editor of the monthly ZNAMYA), Yegor Yakovlev, and Elem Klimov. No more could be done. In Leninskiy Rayon, a request was made to reconsider Popov's case. The next rayon party meeting reaffirmed its rejection, preferring Moscow University Rector Logunov and First Secretary Yershov.

The postponement of the gorkom plenum was caused by this extension of the debate. Following Popov's rejection, the city secretariat took note: "Obviously," Zaykov said, "we had to take account of the viewpoint of one of the city's major party organizations." Apart from these five reinstatements, there was another, however—that of Vitaliy Korotich. Having been rejected in Moscow, he was elected in the outlying Khersonskiy Oblast. Thus the list of 319 was compiled on the very eve of the plenum, with the general observation that "the capital's delegation must represent the interests of the city as a whole, all groups of its population, and the various kinds of party organization." A secret vote was held—but on a closed list, to avoid any last-minute surprises.

The plenum found itself faced with a list resulting from a difficult compromise, and it approved it. Afanasyev was still challenged at Friday's plenum, and there were also arguments over Aleksandr Gelman, who was not on the list of 319—so much so that Gorbachev himself had to speak in defense of both. Basically the center did not want to force matters. If this is a real picture of the situation, Gorbachev said, then it should be shown as such: "This is democracy: equality of rights and responsibilities. We are learning through practice." "Under no circumstances," Zaykov added, "must this mean any lessening of appreciation of the contribution that those excluded have made to perestroyka." In other words, it would have been better if they had been delegates.

Be that as it may, the final verdict is that "it was a difficult battle" and that basically the party committees have passed this test of political maturity, displaying their ability to work under conditions of democratization and glasnost. Nevertheless, the sharp point was made that "some tried to exploit their position to secure inclusion on the list, by defending the vested interests of individual groups. The struggle for perestroyka, however, has nothing to do with personal ambitions."

No less than 3,000 candidacies were examined at 900 meetings of grassroots organizations and 4,000 meetings of primary party organizations. Obviously the Moscow delegates include the six full Politburo members (including Gorbachev and Ligachev) and one candidate member (Defense Minister General Yazov), apart from several central party and state leaders. Several grassroots organizations approved the "progressive" candidates without too many disputes. Among many others, they include writer Chernichenko and actor Mikhail Ulyanov, to name just two. So in the final analysis, the final list of 319 Moscow delegates could actually be better than those drawn up in outlying areas, where public supervision is still much less than in Moscow and where the apparatus can still lay down the law. Be that as it may, the impression is that a larger proposition of the delegates called on to vote on the conclusions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference lean toward the "grand compromise" embodied in the theses approved by the May Central Committee session.

Party Official Cited on Upcoming Conference

PM1006165188 London MORNING STAR in English 10 Jun 88 p 4

[Report on remarks by Georgiy Kryuchkov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Department of Organizational Party Work, by Kate Clark: "Good Omen for Glasnost"; date and place not given]

[Text] Georgiy Kryuchkov, deputy head of the Soviet Communist Party central committee's department of party organizational work, recently spoke to communist correspondents about the forthcoming party conference. Kate Clark reports.

Soviet communists have just finished electing their delegates to the 19th All-Union Communist Party Conference which opens at the end of the month.

It's a process that hasn't been easy, and it has raised strong feelings on the part of many rank and file members, and those candidates who failed to get elected.

The electoral procedure for this important conference, has been accompanied in many areas and cities with heated discussion around several candidatures for one delegate post—itself a major innovation.

Another innovation has been that many party meetings at work-places have been open to non-party people too.

In fact, one of the encouraging signs in the present stage of democratisation and glasnost here has been the extent to which non-party people have become involved in the issues up for debate in the pre-conference period.

These issues are an analysis of how far the restructuring drive has gone and what needs to be done to ensure its further progress, and the further democratisation of party and society.

Impromptu demonstrations have been held in Moscow's Pushkin Square by groups called Civic Dignity and Commune calling for more Socialism and democracy and denouncing bureaucracy.

In Irkutsk, people gathered signatures in favour of environmentalist candidates for delegates to the party conference, while in Omsk large numbers of citizens protested against the way the city's conference delegates had been elected.

It all adds up to a much greater involvement of people in the vital issues the conference is to discuss and which will affect them directly.

"Not all party committees proved ready for the new approach, but on the whole the party's recommendations have been carried out," said Georgiy Kryuchkov.

"From Moscow, 319 delegates have been elected, but 3,000 candidates altogether were discussed," he pointed out.

"The elections have been held in an interesting, informal way—and with lots of discussion, which is good."

Mr Kryuchkov denied the existence of particular difficulties in the delegate-elections which have resulted in a number of leading and vociferous advocates of their version of perestroyka not being elected.

Moscow News described, for instance, how academic and historian Yuriy Afanasyev and Moscow University professor Gavriil Popov failed to get the votes of their district party committees, even though they had received overwhelming backing from their branches.

Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, a leading sociologist who heads the newly formed Centre for the Study of Public Opinion and who has been a front-running proponent of aspects of perestroyka, has also failed to get elected to the conference.

"We think the delegates elected are on the whole active supporters of perestroyka, whom the party has entrusted with carrying this process further," Georgiy Kryuchkov insisted.

There are many difficulties and contradictions in the way of democratisation, he said, and the roots of many problems go back to the'30s and'40s.

But, he continued, conference had to decide on deep transformations in the political system.

These were, he said, to give real power back to the Soviets (local councils and parliamentary bodies) and to draw a clear dividing line between the functions of party and state.

"We have to revive the political nature of party leadership and to rid that leadership of all elements of command, diktat and authoritarianism, which have so often been the methods party committees have used," Mr Kryuchkov stressed.

As stated in the party's central committee pre-conference discussion document, Mr Kryuchkov said that it was a question of improving the Socialist state based on the law.

That document says that legality, supreme and triumphant, which expresses the people's will, is the pivot of such a state.

Different opinions were being voiced, Mr Kryuchkov said, on the document's proposal to limit party officials' term of office to 10 years.

Some favoured no exceptions becoming possible to this rule while others were against any limitation on terms of office.

"I think that conference will decide on some limitation, but it's not only this that's important, he continued.

"Leaders should also be made accountable to the rank and file."

The conference may also carry resolutions on extending glasnost, or openness, and improving the country's electoral system, he added.

Mr Kryuchkov disclosed that 402 delegates out of the 5000 who will be at the conference have been recommended by the party central committee.

Seventy existing members of the central committee have not been elected as delegates, mainly elderly people who had retired, Mr Kryuchkov explained.

Former Moscow party secretary Boris Yeltsin, voted out of office last October after a central committee plenary meeting when he attacked what he called the slow progress of perestroyka has been elected a delegate from the Karelian Autonomous Republic in the far north of the Soviet Union.

Proposals are also being made from the grassroots to make some changes in the composition of the central committee before the next congress in two and a half years' time.

"The present central committee is doing its job, so there is no question of any revolutionary renewal needed here," Georgiy Kryuchkov declared.

But this was something only the conference itself could decide, he concluded.

Afanasyev Comments on Upcoming Party Conference
AU1506094788 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
8 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by V. Jancura, Bratislava PRAVDA permament correspondent in Moscow: "Toward the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference; Preparations for Important Decisions"]

[Excerpts] The nationwide discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th all-union party conference has gained in intensity and quality 3 weeks before the conference opens. The Soviet PRAVDA devotes a whole page to it every day. [passage omitted]

We spoke about this with Academician Viktor Afanasyev, chief editor of PRAVDA, daily of the CPSU Central Committee, who is a delegate to the conference for the Moscow City party organization.

"First of all, I would like to stress," he began, "that nowadays you will not find anonymous letters in the mail to the editor. Not so long ago we were receiving plenty of them. Nowadays readers write to us on subjects that were formerly regarded as taboo, such as, for example: how to prevent the return of a personality cult of the general secretary; what to do against the party apparatus; why does not a single deputy in the Soviet parliament dare to vote 'against'; and so forth. Under every such letter, there is not only a signature but also an exact address and even the number of the letter-writer's party card. What does this show? People have ceased to be afraid to express their views; they have shaken off their lethargy. In the new political-social atmosphere, which I regard to be the greatest achievement of restructuring to date, they are displaying an active civic attitude and are striving to influence the solution of cardinal issues on the management of the party, the state, and the whole of society."

Cleansing Through the Truth [subhead]

Voices have resounded in some central Soviet newspapers which propose the setting up of a second "control" political party, or a "union" or a "front to support restructuring," which would be the umbrella organization for various, so-called informal, associations. PRAVDA reacted to this with its readers' letters (by party as well as nonparty members), who reject such proposals on principle. They are convinced that the CPSU will be able to successfully manage the processes of restructuring without such "counterbalance" or "helpers" of that kind. However, at the same time, I stress: The party must rapidly cleanse itself of all ballast of careerists and incidental [nahodne] people and make the conditions for the enrollment of new candidate members and members stricter. And one more thing: It must markedly democratize its internal life.

Typical, in this connection, is the letter by V. Ilyin. "I do not agree," the scientist writes, "that it is necessary to get a passive Communist 'moving' and win him for restructuring by agitation. If he does not regard restructuring as being necessary and does not feel ready and able to fight for the new, it would be better for him to leave the party voluntarily. Such people should be thanked for a honorable deed. However, they must be convinced that voluntarily leaving the ranks of the CPSU will not harm them or their relatives."

In this connection, great hopes are being invested in the competence tests of Communists, interviews, and screening, which already are underway in several party organizations.

V. Afanasyev: "It is difficult to discern a real opponent of restructuring. The most dangerous, obviously, are those who pursue only their personal selfish interests. They do not want to lose their warm nests and various privileges. They are no longer used to travelling by streetcar, "lining up" at the shops, or relaxing anywhere

else but in state chalets. On top of it, they have lost their original skills after working 20-25 years in the apparatus. They pay enthusiastic lip service to restructuring, but what do they really think and do?"

PRAVDA readers recommend a regular rotation of workers of the party apparatus: When selecting and assigning their replacements, they recommend taking into consideration the opinion of the primary party organizations where they come from. They recommend holding, in that respect, secret elections from several candidates.... [passage omitted]

"Public opinion has begun to consolidate around the view," the chief editor of Soviet PRAVDA noted, "that it is necessary to eliminate the branch sections of party bodies, strengthen the role and powers of the soviets, let the party keep political leadership, care for cadres and their control, and the ensurance of restructuring ideologically. Many readers were taken with the idea of a socialist legal state. All political institutions, including the party, must operate fully in accordance with the Constitution. All must be equal before the law. No one may violate the law without being punished. People draw attention to instances when, for example, an oblast party committee unwarrantedly intervenes in decisions of judges or the prosecutor's office. This must end." [passage omitted]

Academicians View Restructuring Results

PM0706083788 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 20, 15 May 88 p 10

[Professor Yuriy Afanasyev and Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya contributions to feature: "Monologue of a Perestroyka Participant. Wanted: Individuals"—first three paragraphs are MOSCOW NEWS introduction]

[Excerpts] We never grew tired of saying that our main asset was man, while worrying primarily about tons, cubic metres, and kilowatt hours. Once the state's chest is brimming with goodness, we reasoned, our lives will be richer. But they weren't.

For we forgot to specify that we treasured not only man but also the individual. After all, it's precisely this unshackled, free creator who is both the means and the end in the construction of our new society.

Fortunately, time is on our side. People are beginning to realize their almost boundless potential and are proving their worth in ways which earlier were inconceivable. And it is with the help of precisely such people that our country is learning to make sensible use of its kilowatts, cubic metres and tons, but most importantly—is learning to shape the people of perestroyka: individuals. [passage omitted]

Yuriy Afanasyev, Rector, Moscow Institute for Historian-Archivists, Professor, D.Sc. (History):

Live by the Question, Not the Answer [subhead]

Life in our institute is becoming more open and sincere, as it is throughout our society. We now speak frankly about the more difficult problems in our country's history, and we've realized how good it feels not to be lying to our students, but being able to look them in the eye.

The Institute for Historian-Archivists is becoming a sort of a social organism of memory service, on the one hand, and an institute of informatics based on the humanities, social and natural sciences, on the other.

The upcoming academic year promises to be a complicated one for us. The curricula have been revised and in two of the four departments there are new course offerings. How to fill each one with fresh material? And what should we teach in philosophy, political economy and Party history courses? The way the social sciences were taught was so dogmatized, canonized and useless, if not harmful, that we must now, to a certain extent, perform a revolution. And we are already encountering sizeable difficulties. The present curricula on Marxism-Leninism which we have been given are even more dogmatic than in Stalin's times, even though they do contain some new material.

It is also necessary to change the principle behind our methods of teaching, which used to "break" a person's ability to think. Today we must teach our students to live by the quesiton and not by the answer. The Soviet people were forced to make do, for several generations, with Stalin's falsifications of both our history and Marxism. (What we today call Marxism-Leninism, sometimes has nothing to do with either Marx or with science.) All the storms and passions which arose at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, in the theory and philosophy of history, and in the specifics of historical cognition—all of it remained unknown by the overwhelming majority of those who became philosophers and historians. And modern trends of world humanistic and social schools were also left untouched.

Scientific readings are held at the institute every Thursday. We called them "Man's Social Memory". The historians, linguists, philosophers and literary critics of world renown who appeared at the readings in the past, spoke of their research, shared their doubts, and expressed very frank and unconventional thoughts.

A lot is changing, but the most important thing has not yet been done. In spite of three years of persistent speeches and articles by a variety of historians and journalists calling for a critical analysis of the state of our historical science, the results are few. Official historical science has to date shamefully kept silent. Why has history as a science turned out to be not needed by our society in this stormy, difficult and responsible time, and

why was it unable to help solve the more difficult problems which our society faces? This is what worries me most of all. [passage omitted]

Tatyana Zaslavskaya, Academician; Director, All-Union Center on the Study of Public Opinion and Socio-Economic Questions; President, Soviet Sociological Association:

To Reflect Life as It Is [subhead]

Three years of perestroyka is quite an important event. No wonder many of us are asking themselves the question—have adequate steps been taken, during this time, toward our society's renewal, toward making it a healthier place? Most likely each of us answers in his own way, judging by the changes in his or her own field of activity. I'm a sociologist and, therefore, I note, above all, the changes that have taken place in this particular science.

Sociology had a hard time during the long period of stagnation (maybe it would be more correct to call it decay). It was the same for all of the social sciences, but maybe even harder for sociology because it, more than other social sciences, plays the role of a "mirror" reflecting given historical society with all of its attractive as well as repulsive features. But the uglier a man is, the more unpleasant it is for him to see his own reflection. Naturally, our leaders, who for decades did not tend to society's ills but obstinately pushed them ever inward, were not eager to see the objective reflection of the results of their activities. And, when it comes right down to it, what could sociology have told them? About growing dissatisfaction among the population, about the peasants' alienation from the land, and the workers from their work? About the loss of a lot of moral values, about the growing differentiation of various social groups and strata? This information would hardly have blended well with the noise of fanfares in the official press. Sociology was pressured, suffocated and closed off by the most diverse of methods.

Then came another time. The new Party leadership meeded both a reliable management "feed-back system" and needed to know what was really going on "out there". The demand for sociological information began to grow at a fast rate.

A second type of sociological enterprise—the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the Population—has been opened at the Academy of Sciences. The sections and departments of sociology are being expanded at a number of institutions, including ones in the Union Republics. And an All-Union Centre for the Study of Public Opinion on Socio-Economic Questions has been founded as well. The first probing of public opinion (on the question of the election of economic managers) is already underway. [passage omitted]

Public Hoping Conference Will Purge Socialism

LD1206144888 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Text] The Soviet news media have been extensively covering preparations for the 19th national Communist Party conference, due to open on the 28th of this month, and discussions of the Central Committee Theses, that is the platform for discussion published on the eve of the conference. More from Yuriy Rogachev; he writes:

Several generations of Soviet people can hardly recall debates as heated as these, or pluralism of opinion revealed as genuinely as people are now discussing problems facing this country and ways to resolve them. Definitely no event of the past decades has been awaited by the nation as impatiently and hopefully as the forthcoming conference. This can be attributed to the possibility that the decisions taken by this country's ruling party may turn a new page in Soviet history. They are expected to revitalize the ideals of the 1917 socialist revolution, and in the first place those of social justice and genuine democracy. These ideals are underlying the process of restructuring launched in April 1985.

The nation is hoping that the party conference will purge socialism of all distortions, accelerate the restructuring of all areas of life, and guarantee its irreversibility on the path of further democratization and political reform.

Who are the people who will be taking decisions on matters as serious as these? Who has been elected to the conference? Well here are two different opinions carried by Soviet newspapers. The first suggests that passionate supporters of the restructuring have been elected to the conference through a genuinely democratic procedure. The second, however, says that party functionaries have won another victory by appointing candidates by a list instead of electing them democratically. So, as you see, the two views are at the opposite poles. I believe the truth, as it often happens, lies somewhere in-between. The election campaign was not homogenous, reflecting the various degrees of involvement of this country's various regions in perestroyka. It turned out that the formula—the more remote the province the lesser the degree of involvement—was not correct. In some regions bordering on Moscow the lists of delegates were compiled by the party machinery and approved through old procedures. At the same time in the city of Yuzhnosakhalinsk, the administrative center of the remotest island region, a spontaneous rally of Communists and nonparty people denied a vote of confidence to the first secretary of the regional party committee, who had already been elected to the conference.

Among the 5,000 delegates there must be bureaucratic conservatives opposing perestroyka as well as people who are wholeheartedly for it. But one can be sure the tonality of the conference will be determined by the proponents of restructuring, for they are backed up by public opinion which has been increasingly powerful.

Among this is a worker of a polygraphic factory in the Russian city of Kalinin, Viktor Maslov. The key issue on the conference agenda is perestroyka, says Viktor Maslov. I for one will vote for the decisions that will make this process irreversible, to ensure that no return to stagnation or demagogy instead of vigorous work be possible. Let's never go back to the times when people's lives were growing ever more difficult to the accompaniment of beautifully worded pronouncements. What we need is solid guarantees of the people's right to a government of their own in the feeling of masters of production.

At long last the people must take on the management of the country and do so without any advice or control from the bureaucrats.

Two-Term Limit on Party Officers Unnecessary

PM1406094988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jun 88 Second Edition p 1

[Letter from reader P. Sayapin under the rubric "We Discuss the CPSU Central Committee Theses": "Against Communist Arrogance"]

[Text] During the discussion on democratization certain sociologists have proposed making from the "informal" groups virtually a second party to act as a check and in order to avoid any repetition of the personality cult. No, we do not need another party! The CPSU Central Committee Theses defined what the CPSU should be and who should control its activities.

In order to avoid the domination of bureaucratism in the party and communist arrogance on the part of certain conceited party workers, I believe that the conference should establish:

1. Direct secret elections for leading party workers, all the way up to the CPSU Central Committee, with the right to recall those elected [izbrannik] if they fail to fulfill statutory demands or to justify Communists' faith in them.

2. To instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to introduce into criminal law an article henceforth preventing people who have compromised themselves from taking part in leadership work.

Perhaps then there will be no need to restrict anyone to two elected terms.

P. Sayapin, CPSU member since 1942. Leningrad City.

Mailbag on Party Conference Theses Sampled

PM1406184588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jun 88 Second Edition p 2

[Viktor Kozhemyako review under the rubric "Reading the Mail": "And No one Is Indifferent"]

[Text] I have before me voluminous files full of letters and telegrams. Just now the whole country is sending them to PRAVDA, to many other editorial offices, and straight to the CPSU Central Committee. Our mailbag, for example, has recently increased almost 50 percent. The reason is understandable: People—both Communists and nonparty people—want to make their contribution to the preparations for the 19th all-union party conference.

The publication of the CPSU Central Committee Theses has given rise to a new influx of ideas and suggestions. This is a platform for further discussion in the period immediately preceeding the all-party forum. Hence the tremendous interest in them and the thousands of businesslike, interested responses.

On reading them, you think what significant changes have occurred in our people's consciousness over the past 3 years. How did things stand in the past when such documents were published? There was mainly a monotonous breaking of waves of enthusiastic approval. This was easily explained: Since everything had been thought out there, "up above," it only remained to approve and adopt it. To suggest cosmetic amplifications, perhaps. Little depends on little old me, people would say....

The situation has now changed radically. People are reading the party document as its coauthors, enjoying full rights, reading it attentively and sometimes critically, analyzing it and pondering on it. Their views frequently clash, and then an argument flares up, in which, as is known, the truth is born.

"I am 'pro'!" Sovkhoz Director Yu. Kuvakin of Aktyubinsk Oblast affirms concerning the sociopolitical certification of Communists. "The question is ripe," he believes. "In recent years quite a lot of party members have ceased fulfilling their vanguard role and compromised themselves in people's eyes...."

"But I am 'con'!" V. Bykovskiy, a party veteran from Minsk, declares. And he cites his arguments.

Many similar disagreements arise in letters. Well, everyone has his own view, his own viewpoint. And the more frankly they are voiced in the course of debate, the better.

The sense of personal involvement in the affairs of the party and the country is probably the chief aspect uniting this whole huge mailbag. Some people believe that the Theses devote insufficient attention to the need to

develop criticism and self-criticism. "Must this weapon of the party really be consigned to the archives already?"—this question is raised in a letter from Kharkov.

Journalists have noticed that the Theses say nothing about the role of the press at the contemporary stage. "It is very disappointing that such a serious subject is quite absent," a group of newspapermen write from Sverdlovsk. "The press, in the person of its best, most active workers, is marching in the vanguard of restructuring. And there are many problems here, particularly in the local press which is meeting with very strong resistance from the official, bureaucratic apparatus."

Doubts have been created in many people by the point in the Theses dealing with the creation of local soviet presidiums. "Is such an additional superstructure needed? And if presidiums are to be created, let them replace the ispolkoms," two experienced workers in the RSFSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs, who have for many years been connected with soviet organs, write.

I cannot dwell here on all the wishes and suggestions. We endeavor to print the most interesting ones. Many letters are included in the reviews sent regularly to the CPSU Central Committee. Everyone in the editorial office—from chief editor to literary staffer—is working on letters devoted to the Central Committee Theses and the upcoming party conference. Our sincere gratitude goes to all the writers. May this column serve to answer your letters: It is simply not possible to answer every one by mail.

...I reread the letters and telegrams. "We suggest adding to point 5 of the CPSU Central Committee Theses that public glorification of the general secretary and other party leaders is to be considered a violation of party ethics. Tomilkina, Mochalova, Selinov, Chernyrtak, Kishinev City." "Please include in the Theses the point that it is not enough to conquer and finish off bureaucracy. It must be made to work for restructuring. Aleksandr Petrovich Voloshchuk, Tkvarcheli City."

Do you sense behind these lines the intensity of people's thoughts and feelings and their ardent interest? And no one is indifferent.

Readers' Letters Attack 'Doveriye' Group

PM1506085188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jun 88 First Edition p3

[Own observer Vasiliy Pustov roundup of readers letters: "'We Firmly Reject It!' Say Soviet People of the Stand Taken by 'Doveriye' Leaders" under rubric "Readers' Mail"]

[Text] It is not very often the case that the same subject will provoke such a flood of readers' responses that the newspaper has to come back to it. But this is what has happened with our expose of the subversive, anti-Soviet activities of the group which hypocritically calls itself "Doveriye" (cf. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 December 1987, 23 January, 8 and 12 May 1988). Letters sent from virtually every corner of our immense country express anger, resentment, indignation, contempt, and loathing.

The shameless slander against the Soviet Armed Forces spread by unrestrained members of "Doveriye," crude attempts to slander the command, sergeants, and ordinary military personnel, and inflammatory appeals to young people to violate the USSR Constitution by refusing to perform military service have aroused particularly strong indignation in our readers. Blasphemy is the word used by Muscovites Tamashevskiy, Fredlina, and Sverkoyev (unfortunately some letter writers did not give their initials) to describe these base attacks. This blasphemy becomes particularly shameful, as USSR Armed Forces veteran P. Sobolev rightly points out, if one recalls that "all progressive mankind gratefully honors the Soviet Army as the liberation army which saved many European countries from fascist slavery."

It is impossible to read letters in which people proudly recall their labor and military service during the terrible years of the Great Patriotic War without emotion. We lads working at the plants, M. Pervov, a participant in the war, writes from Moscow, beseiged the military commissariats and begged to be sent to the front. It was only in 1943, when I was called up, that my wish came true and I was drafted into the Red Army. But now members of this "Doveriye" group are prepared to defame their country in return for chewing gum and other handouts from across the ocean.

"Judas betrayed Christ for 30 pieces of silver. It would be interesting to know how much the renegades from the 'Doveriye' group were given by their Western friends for their phrasemongering," O. Smirnova, I. Balashov, and M. and A. Sudakov, war veterans and participants in the blockade, from Volkhov in Leningrad Oblast wondered.

Readers were not surprised that "Doveriye" members not only move in the same circles as so-called "dissidents" but also keep company with former criminals and even people who served in the Hitlerite occupiers' police force, who were involved in the arrest and torture of Soviet citizens. As is well known, all these "freedom fighters" were honored with a reception by the U.S. President during his official visit to the Soviet Union.

Letters sent to the editorial office emphasize that this malicious agitation against service in the Soviet Army must be regarded as a violation of socialist law.

M. Shleymovich from Voroshilovgrad writes of the need to take steps to protect young people who do not have firm political and moral views against this kind of

corrupting, anti-Soviet influence. The impudent renegades from "Doveriye" who are insulting our Army and our servicemen who are fulfilling their sacred duty to the motherland, he says, should be ashamed to meet the eye of their fellow citizens.

The past and present of M. Shleymovich's family are typical of many other Soviet families. "I am Jewish," he writes. "I spent the entire war as a serviceman in a 'katyusha' battalion of the 4th Stalingrad Tank Corps. I had four brothers—one was killed in Poland and two came back from the war as invalids. I also returned from the war a cripple. I worked for many years and am now having a well-earned rest." The war veteran writes proudly of his four sons. Three of them have done compulsory military service and the fourth—the youngest—is now a member of the Soviet Army.

A considerable number of letters have been sent to the editorial office whose authors hold the slanderers from "Doveriye" up to shame as they recall their own military service with great satisfaction and gratitude. Junior Sergeant (Reserve) Yu. Vengerov from the city of Antratsit appeals to young men liable for army service with these words: "I was discharged into the reserve in May 1987 but still correspond with the commanders and men now serving in my unit. I am grateful to the Army for everything it has given me: Freedom, confidence in my own strengths, diligence, the ability to make friends and value my own honor. All these qualities have made me suitable for civilian work."

The same thoughts and feelings are expressed in a letter from Senior Lieutenant (Reserve) A. Denezhko from Kishinev. "The Soviet Army," he writes, "has been like a father to me. I am indebted to the Army for the fact that I have a higher education and now work as chief engineer at one of the USSR Academy of Sciences scientific research institutes. I am sincerely grateful to the commanders and political workers of the unit in which I served. The Soviet Army shapes your ideological beliefs, hardens you physically, and instills the best qualities in young people—loyalty to the motherland, integrity, decency, and high moral standards."

People naturally try to see over the horizon to the next day and the day after and think about the future of their children and grandchildren and how they will fulfill their sacred duty to the motherland. A reader named Bulakhov from Kaluga, for example, sent in a simple, sincere letter full of deep feeling. "Each time a new grandson appears in our family," he writes, "we say with joy: That's another future soldier. And if, when he is already walking, he suddenly starts to whimper, we unfailingly say to him as a reminder: Well, what kind of soldier will you make! And, just imagine, the child's spirits immediately lift and he stops crying. We are confident that none of our grandsons will shame themselves and that they will all firmly guard the motherland."

The editorial office has also received letters (admittedly, not so many) which I would put into the category of so-called "angry" letters. I would place the letters from I. Sidorov from Voroshilovgrad and I. Kotsupal from Fastov, Kiev Oblast, in this category. The authors of these letters, like other Soviet people, angrily condemn the provocative actions of the "Doveriye" group. It is impossible, however, to agree with their claim that "too much glasnost" has created a favorable medium in which "Doveriye" members and others of their ilk can engage in this kind of subversive anti-Soviet activity.

Muscovite V. Bokhan points out that attempts to undermine the authority of the Soviet Army are not only being made by the "Doveriye" group but also by other similar groups. According to him, this same unworthy aim is in fact served by statements in the press and on central television by certain literary and cultural figures. "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA," he concludes, "must show a tougher tone in its items," meaning articles on the subject of military-patriotic education for Soviet youth.

What can we say about this? Our newspaper considers one of its main tasks to be that of constantly making a substantial contribution to the training of worthy defenders of the socialist motherland. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has always spoken out very decisively against any vain strivings to compromise the Soviet Armed Forces and will continue to do so. It goes without saying that it will rely in this on the active support of our readers—the kind demonstrated in the statements quoted in this roundup.

Contents of Ninth Issue of KOMMUNIST

PM1606132988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Latest Issue of Journal"]

[Text] The latest, ninth, issue of the journal KOMMUNIST opens with an information report on the 23 May 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The plenum resolution on the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference is published.

The changes currently taking places in labor collectives—the main, basic component of renewal—and the progress of restructuring in this area is discussed by A. Teplenichev, party committee secretary at the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine, and Yu. Arkhipov, party committee secretary at the "Izhorskiy Zavod" Production Association. This article marks the opening of a special rubric in the journal devoted to discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The dramatist A. Gelman discusses the need to return to the party's Leninist moral roots. The strategy of the reform of the Soviet electoral system is analyzed by the lawyers G. Barabashev and K. Sheremet. The concluding selection of letters under the general heading "Party Democratization—Social Democratization" is published. The discussion on current

problems of economic development posed by the CPSU Central Committee Theses is continued in Yu. Batalin's article "Capital Construction: Problems and Ways of Restructuring It" and the commentary "The Consumer Market and the Prospects for Balance."

The publication of the protocols of the Sixth (Prague) All-Russian Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party is concluded under the rubric "Pages of History." The notes of military historian N. Pavlenko "In the First Phase of the War" are published.

"Independent Initiatives. An Informal View" is the title of an article published under the rubric "Everything in Man, Everything for Man." The journal's problem group investigates the experience of civilian initiatives distinguished by socially important aims and constructive activity.

The article "Reform: Stabilization and Acceleration" by M. Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, devoted to the problems of the socialist renewal of the Hungarian economy, is featured under the rubric "The Socialist Countries: Experience, Achievements, Problems."

The qualitative changes in political thinking and peace policy currently taking place are examined in A. Bovin's article "New Thinking—New Policy."

Critical and bibliographical articles and a chronicle are also published.

Economic

Biryukova Interviewed on Consumer Goods Issue

PM1006102388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jun 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by own correspondents A. Nikitin and A. Shabashkevich under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Degrees of Interest. A.P. Biryukova, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Replies to PRAVDA Correspondents' Questions"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The letter was scathing and the stance of the writers was uncompromising. "We disagree!" wrote the workers at the Tuymazy Earthenware Plant in Bashkiria. They refused to adopt the plan target imposed on them from above. A commission was dispatched from the republic's Ministry of Light Industry. Everything was recalculated and weighed up and it proved impossible to refute the Tuymazy workers' conclusions. The plan had to be made more specific. There had been a clash, or rather a divergence, of three interests: the interests of the state, the department, and the collective. And the thought came to mind that the departments had been trying to work in the old fashion, while people were no longer accepting these old methods. They demand clear differentiation not in office functions, but in personal responsibility for work.

This letter was lying on the table beside Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. And it was the starting point for our conversation.

[Biryukova] You say that interests diverged? Well, therein lies the complexity of the current reform. Interests must be united on a new basis. The party assesses everything that has been done and everything that will have to be done to this end from the standpoint of the interests of Soviet people.

Take the problem of meeting people's needs for goods and services. By the early eighties most of our families had acquired a basic set of consumer durables and other consumer goods which together made for a certain level of prosperity and comfort.

However, what has been achieved does not accord with the country's objective potential and requirements or with Soviet people's justifiable expectations. The demand for goods and paid services is not being met. Unfortunately, the shortage in this area has not been reduced in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan. The population's effective demand has grown faster than production of consumer goods. As a result in 1986-1987 customers received R22.5 billion less in goods [poluchili menshe tovarov na 22.5 milliarda rubley] and R4.5 billion less in paid services. To a considerable extent this is linked to the fact that in industry the increase in the production of capital goods is outstripping the increase in consumer goods, although in the current 5-year plan the reverse was planned.

The shortages in the stores of quality goods that are in demand is not only a misfortune for the customer. It is also a braking factor on the radical economic reform, because the national economy cannot be restructured and developed dynamically when many enterprises are in no hurry to build up production of goods for the people but manufacture articles that are not in demand. Yet the saturation of the market with goods and services largely determines the people's mood and their attitude to work, party policy, and restructuring.

Taking into consideration the acuteness of the situation in the consumer market, at the the 27th CPSU Congress the party defined the acceleration of the development of goods production and services as the priority avenue for social policy. This course was reaffirmed in the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and was made specific in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions adopted over the last few years. I would like to stress the importance of the Comprehensive Program for the Development of Goods Production and the Services

Sphere. First and foremost because, you will note, it combines the activities of all economic sectors. That is the new aspect of this approach to problem-solving.

[Interviewers] Well, there had previously been directives that were fundamentally correct. So why did they not "bring about a revolution" in consumer goods production?

[Biryukova] Because, I think, people had long tried to resolve this problem using command and administrative methods and without linking the real economic interests of the state, labor collectives, and the population. The "gross production" ideology that formed the basis of economic thinking and practice in the period of stagnation placed the interests of production above those of the consumer.

The radical economic reform and the Law on the State Enterprise, despite certain difficulties and problems in their practical implementation, are creating the necessary prerequisites for eradicating this deformation. They are building a new and, I would say, humanistic logic of interests, since it is based on the priority of working people's interests. This approach wholly accords with the nature of socialism, serves people, and elevates them. Production plans adopted by labor collectives are now based on initial data in the form of control figures and reasoned calculations in physical and cost indicators. These reflect the social need for specific output and the demands of trading organizations.

In this connection I would like to draw attention to the considerably increased role of wholesale trade fairs, at which the population, through the medium of trading organizations, tells industry about its needs and formulates demand for specific kinds of goods and their ranges and quality. It is particularly important that the previous practice of rigidly harnessing enterprises to trade organizations has been abolished. They can now choose their partners independently and sign contracts with the enterprises and for the output that suits them.

In short, the financial, economic, and legal mechanism for restructuring the entire work aimed at meeting people's demand for goods has basically been set up. It is now a question of ensuring that everyone—and particularly all our soviet and economic cadres and labor collectives—really faces up to solving this task and brings these levers into play. This is now the most important area for applying the political, organizational, ideological, and educational efforts of party organizations and committees.

[Interviewers] It seems, Aleksandra Pavlovna, that all the economic incentives envisaged by the reform are not effective enough if we again need to call on party, soviet, and economic leaders and sometimes even force them to tackle goods and increase their production.

[Biryukova] Undoubtedly the existing system of incentives for consumer goods production, particularly at Group "A" sector enterprises, cannot be considered sophisticated. This was graphically demonstrated by the practice of introducing state orders for consumer goods in 1988. A considerable number of labor collectives refused—and a number are still refusing—to adopt intensive plans for their production. The habit of seeking a quiet life and reluctance to take risks undoubtedly played their part here. But the main thing is the fact that the new economic mechanism is not yet providing sufficiently effective incentives to labor collectives and sectors as a whole, or encouraging republics, krays, and oblasts to increase consumer goods production.

This means that we must whet the economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] appetites of enterprises, sectors, and regions, and provide them with an economic incentive for producing consumer goods. This conclusion was stated in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum. The USSR Gosplan and other central departments are working out corresponding methods. They have things that they can fall back on. Many specific and very feasible ideas have been put forward on this score by economic, soviet, and party cadres, including in your newspaper.

But let's just imagine for a minute that we do have a sophisticated system of economic incentives for boosting consumer goods production. Will it automatically lead to a radical improvement in the situation in the consumer market? I am not sure that it will, and this is why.

Experience of the first 3 years of restructuring convinces us that the most difficult part of it is to restructure thinking and mentalities and to reject the stereotypes of the past. And one of the most burning and longest-lasting of these is a kind of "deafness" to social questions and the attitude that consumer goods production is a secondary task. Both here in Moscow and during my trips around the country I have repeatedly seen for myself that many soviet, economic, and party leaders—often at top level—still suffer from this outdated affliction. Cadres in Group "A" sectors are particularly prone to it. They do not take to heart the problems of unfairly treated customers or consumer goods production, which they refer to in sometimes disparaging terms and see as an additional burden.

In order to back up what I have said, let me cite the following example. At the bidding of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR Council of Ministers the progress of the fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program for Goods and Services in 1986-1987 was analyzed. And this is the picture that appeared. Production of nonfood goods in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan increased at a faster pace than industrial production as a whole. Nonetheless, the Comprehensive Program and 5-year plan targets were not fulfilled. Eleven union republics and many ministries failed to cope with them.

One wonders why. It is not just a question of the lack of sophisticated economic levers, but of the continuing underestimation by soviet and economic organs of the task of paramount socioeconomic and political importance of meeting effective demand for consumer goods. It is a question of the consequent inability and sometimes even reluctance to use the potential opened up by the economic reform to resolve this task. The fact that such potential does exist—and is considerable—is proved by the experience of Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. These republics, working under the same conditions as others, have upgraded their consumer goods production programs and are successfully fulfilling them.

What conclusions are to be drawn? In my view, restructuring in the sphere of meeting people's demand for goods must be conducted, as it were, on two fronts—improving and developing the economic mechanism, and simultaneously molding in soviet, economic, and party cadres a clear and profound understanding of the importance of this issue. Both tasks are equally important, both must invariably be at the center of party and economic organs' attention.

There is one other very major problem—the strengthening of the production base and the development of research and development work in the goods production sphere. This is being posed extremely acutely today. At Group "A" sector enterprise more than half of all consumer products are manufactured in makeshift premises by obsolescent equipment. This accounts for their low technical standard, poor design, and unsatisfactory quality. Things are particularly unfavorable with the capacities for the production of complex consumer equipment. They were mainly set up 15-20 years ago and since then have for all intents and purposes not been renewed, since ministries have allocated virtually no funds for this purpose. Most enterprises prefer to make up their planned production volume with "trinkets"—the most basic articles whose manufacture does not require the creation of specialized production facilities. This kind of output accounts for more than half of the goods produced at enterprises under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, and other ministries.

Largely as a result of this practice we have experienced shortages of complex domestic equipment for many years. There are currently 1.2-1.8 times fewer washing and sewing machines, refrigerators, and freezers, not to mention complex electronic video and radio equipment per 100 families than are required on the basis of rational consumption norms.

Ministries and enterprises in Group "A" sectors must resolutely change the guidelines for their policy with regard to ranges. To accomplish this we must retool existing capacities and create new specialized—I emphasize, specialized—capacities. Without such steps it will be simply impossible to saturate the market with refrigerators, modern vacuum cleaners, videocassette recorders, compact disk players, and other domestic items which embody scientific and technical progress and modern levels of comfort. It is clear that not much will be achieved merely with the help of appeals or by pressuring ministries and enterprises. That is why the measures I mentioned earlier also include steps designed to stimulate the development of the material and technical base of goods production and the inclusion of powerful research and development organizations in the creation of complex consumer equipment.

[Interviewers] Unfortunately, Aleksandra Pavlovna, the category of goods in short supply includes not only consumer durables but also many prime necessities, including light industry products. This newspaper has been receiving many, to be blunt, angry letters in which people refer to shortages in the stores of clothes, footwear, knitwear, and goods for children and youngsters, and bemoan the fact that they have to stand in line for hours to buy not the height of fashion but ordinary shoes, boots, suits, raincoats, and overcoats. Why has this situation developed? What is being done to rectify it?

[Biryukova] The situation in the market for light industry goods has indeed become strained in the last few years. There has been virtually no increase in per capita consumption of a number of the most important types of output, including sewn goods and footwear. The main reason has been the backwardness of the sector's production potential. The recently disbanded USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry was not in a position to keep the sector up to modern standards. Machine builders had not even embarked on the creation of machine tools for net curtain and leather production and for fur factories.

Knitting, sewing, shoemaking, and textile finishing equipment is very backward. Things that were bought for foreign currency were often obtained in less than complete form: not complete technological systems, but just parts or individual machines. This could not fundamentally renew ranges or improve output quality. On the other hand, up to 1.5 billion foreign currency rubles per year was spent on purchases of goods. If at the time only half this amount had been channeled into the development of Soviet light industry, the situation in terms of goods would not be so serious today. In general we economized on the needs of light industry for decades. Judge for yourselves: In the last three 5-year plans less than 4 percent of all capital investment allocated for industry as a whole was channeled into this sector, which produces 14 percent of all industrial output. And this percentage has fallen from 5-year plan to 5-year plan.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have comprehensively analyzed the state of affairs in light industry and defined a strategy for its

development. A resolution has been adopted that defines measures for retooling light industry in 1988-1995. The key task is to sharply increase production and improve the technical standards and quality of equipment for this sector. Enterprises, together with scientific and design organizations in the machine-building complex and the defense sectors of industry, are being enlisted to produce this equipment. Compared with the last 5-year plan the amount of work linked with the creation of new equipment will increase by 200-300 percent. It is planned to put around R20 billion into the development of light industry in the next 5-year plan—that is, almost twice as much as in the current 5-year plan.

[Interviewers] Aleksandra Pavlovna, what then is the value of the proclaimed principle of self-financing for this sector, if once again we are talking about major centralized investment?

[Biryukova] We proceed on the basis of this principle. Here is a simple calculation. Of the R20 billion, R13 billion is money belonging to the enterprises themselves, from their development funds which, in accordance with labor collectives' proposals, will be used to expand and retool these enterprises. The budget is allocating R7 billion, mainly for the creation of new capacities and the eradication of disproportions between sectors.

The implementation of the retooling program in 1988-1995 will accelerate the improvement of production efficiency. By 1995 the growth in profit and turnover tax should exceed R15 billion, which is twice the volume of centralized capital investment. So the sector will not be indebted to the state.

Nor to the population. In the same period the increase in the production of woolen and silk fabrics, knitwear, and footwear will equal or surpass the increase achieved over the last three 5-year plans. The quality of articles will improve. Per capita consumption of a number of the most important types of light industry output will be equal or significantly close to rational norms. Unfortunately, it will not be possible to achieve rational consumption norms for all kinds of items by 1995 mainly because of shortages of raw materials and other material resources.

[Interviewers] All this is very important, of course. But it will clearly take a great deal of time, whereas the goods are really needed today. After all, we have been marking time for so many years.

[Biryukova] You are right, it will take years to completely rectify the situation in the consumer market and reach world standards. But the question must be resolved right now. That is why, along with long-term strategic measures, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government are taking steps calculated to show a return in the very near future. This year's growth in nonfood production is planned at 10.8 percent—this is more than the first 2 years of the 5-year plan put together. One out of every two ministries have been given 1990-level targets or even higher.

Additional measures are being taken to ensure that goods production is more fully supplied with material and technical resources. The USSR Gosplan and the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development have drawn up instructions whose implementation will make it possible in 1989-1990 to make up the lag in goods production that was permitted in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan. The tasks are tough but based on a sober and realistic assessment of the potential and resources available to regions, sectors, and enterprises.

The fact that reserves have not been exhausted is demonstrated, in particular, by the results of the first 4 months of this year. Production of nonfood goods increased by 10 percent compared with the same period last year, and most targets for the production of the most important light industry articles and cultural, consumer, and domestic goods were fulfilled. The indicators are considerably better than last year's.

And yet the problem is far from being resolved. Let us return to light industry. People are right to ask state, economic, and party organs just when we will finally be able to buy in the stores what we need, rather than items imposed on us by enterprises. Why is scant attention still being paid to children, young people, and the elderly? Do the USSR State Committee on Prices and light industry enterprises realize that there are many people in the country with relatively modest incomes who also need to buy clothes and footwear?

No, I cannot say that economic practice is currently keeping abreast of the spirit of the documents that have been adopted and the economic reform. But this does not mean that we must accept the current situation as inevitable. We must be more bold in seeking ways out of seemingly insoluble problems.

Here is one such problem. Clearly, we must not allow cheap items to be "swept" out of production—they must be produced in volumes and ranges sufficient to meet the demand for them from the less affluent sections of the population: young people, pensioners, and large families. This is the party's firm line. But it is being implemented with considerable difficulty.

Take the range of goods for children. These goods are labor-intensive, artificially cheap, and unprofitable for enterprises. The state has been forced to provide substantial subsidies. Last year, for instance, these amounted to R1.6 billion. But subsidies are not an incentive—they do not stimulate any interest in increasing the production of cheap goods. The subsidy is enormous, but there are still not enough of the goods in the stores. What is the way out? In my view, children's

goods—like other cheap, low-margin, but socially important articles—must be made as economically advantageous as high-margin goods. State organs are seeking a solution to the problem in this very direction, and specific measures will obviously be taken during the forthcoming restructuring of the price formation system.

Many more examples could be cited of mismatches between the interests of state, labor collective, and consumer. The new economic mechanism is not ideal. It is being checked by practice and is being improved. The USSR Council of Ministers and central departments are constantly conducting this work.

But is it correct in all cases to pin the blame for shortages of the goods the people need on the backwardness of the material and technical base, the unsophisticated economic mechanism, and so forth? I am sure that it is not.

Real opportunities for far more efficient activity by light industry exist right now. The biggest stumbling block today is the inability of enterprise leaders and labor collective councils to properly handle the economic tools the state has handed them and the rights granted by the Law on the State Enterprise. There is no other explanation as to why many labor collectives when compiling plans often continue to be guided not by what people need or by what is in demand, but by what is more convenient and easy to produce.

Output can go years without being renewed, as happened, for instance, at the Kalinin Sewn Goods Association. Modern equipment that makes it possible to rapidly switch to the production of new lines of clothing has been installed there. However, for several years in succession jeans have been produced there, even though the demand for them has fallen. Yet the Kalinin Fashion House has designed lines of clothes using denim, which is popular among young people. I asked the enterprise leaders why they did not start producing these clothes. I have not received an intelligible reply. Nor does one exist.

In March I visited Georgia, where I recalled the situation in Kalinin. I liked the local knitwear in a Tbilisi department store: The range was varied and the quality good. I asked the shoppers whether they always had such a selection or whether an effort had been made because of my visit. They said that the selection of knitwear was almost always reasonable. But that could not be said of clothing, footwear, and other light industry goods. And they did not appeal to me either: They had no taste, no style, and were in poor in quality. I was left simply depressed by a considerable proportion of the products of the "Isani" Footwear Association in Tbilisi.

So what is happening? Knitwear, sewn goods, and footwear workers are working to the same model of the economic mechanism, but the results are different. This means that a great deal still depends on cadres and their attitude to work. And if the Kalinin people do not change their ways in the future, they will not be able to make ends meet.

I think that the time has come not only to recall but to actually make more resolute use of the sanctions against poor enterprises stipulated by the reform, to closely investigate each specific case and, perhaps, sometimes even close some of them down. Otherwise, this kind of freeloading will hamper us for a long time yet.

I believe that currently and for a long time to come there can be no question more important for primary party organizations, enterprises, associations, or party committees than to finally eradicate their disdain for consumer interests and master the economic and financial levers of management.

[Interviewers] In your view, what place do ministries and departments have in linking the interests of state, labor collective, and consumer?

[Biryukova] Let me be blunt, this is a hard question. Ministries must wear two hats, as it were: They must represent the state system in the sector and represent the sector within the state system. Sectorial interests and concerns are entirely natural. But it is the interests of the state and the entire people that must be the main concern of ministries and guide them in their activity. When these interests are left in the background and when preference is given to narrow sectorial interests, we see the emergence of notorious departmentalism, which creates many obstacles in the way of satisfying the interests of the population and society as a whole. It cannot yet be said that departmentalism is wholly and completely a thing of the past. Dealing at the CPSU Central Committee with the questions of meeting people's needs for goods—and these goods are produced by enterprises under the jurisdiction of dozens of ministries and departments—I can state quite categorically that departmentalism has not given up and will not give up its positions without a fight.

[Interviewers] Does that mean that it cannot be overcome under the conditions of a sectorial management structure?

[Biryukova] Why not? We must simply create the machinery for averting this disease. Which is precisely what is being done in the course of the implementation of the decisions of the party Central Committee June (1987) Plenum relating to the restructuring of organizational management structures in the economy. The elaboration of new general blueprints for running sectors, the abandonment of authoritarian styles and petty controls, the transition to management via economic levers, and the reduction of the overblown apparatus will all ensure that the interests of state, producer, and consumer are organically linked and will cut off departmentalism at the root.

And what about democratization and glasnost! These are major counterweights to parochialism, bureaucratism, and formalism at all levels of management. The processes of democratization are now proceeding actively at enterprise and association level, while in many ministries and departments they are clearly lagging behind. So far little has changed in the style of their activity.

The adherence of a considerable number of leaders to command and administrative management methods, the desire to dodge the resolution of issues by passing them on to the next department, and—let us be blunt—the willingness to fill even the new forms of running the economy with old content are having a tangible effect. This method is tried and tested—the issuance of various circulars that snarl up labor collectives in such a way that they cannot move a muscle without ministerial consent. In his speech at the congress of kolkhoz members, M.S. Gorbachev noted that for many leaders at different levels disdain for the rights of labor collectives has become second nature.

The questions of deepening democratization in the sphere of the running of the economy will take their proper place at the 19th all-union party conference. But the 27th congress and the CPSU Central Committee January and June Plenums have already outlined far-reaching measures in this direction. These include, for instance, the creation of sector councils, the expansion of the practice of competitive initiative in resolving cadre issues, and regular reports from leaders on their work to party meetings, party committees, and labor collectives. However, all this is being implemented extremely slowly and timidly. So I think that today it is a question not just of decisions that deepen democratic initiative in the activity of ministerial apparatuses and their relationship with enterprises and associations, but also of the practical implementation of these decisions.

The economic reform and restructuring as a whole will not proceed without actively cleansing the management sphere of the numerous traps and barriers set up by the adherents of the bureaucratic style, and those skilled in "putting the brakes" on revolutionary transformations. And the tone here should undoubtedly be set by party organizations. Any attempts to ignore democratic working methods should be resolutely opposed, and everything that helps to fully unshackle people's initiative and creativity at all levels of the running of the national economy—from ministry collegiums to primary components—should be supported; all this is now, without exaggeration, the most important task for party committees, including ministry party committees.

Here is another fundamental point. Democratization, as was stressed in the CPSU Central Committee Theses, requires that the functions of party, state, and economic organs be divided up. Currently party workers are often forced to be both supervisor, supplier, and petitioner for the affairs of enterprises, associations, sectors, and regions. And this gives rise to departmentalism and parochialism in the party apparatus, whereas in every job party organs must always and at all times see and defend nationwide interests and people's needs and concerns. Of course, it is not a question of releasing the party, party organs, and cadres from their leadership of the economy. It is a question of restructuring the style of this leadership and switching to political methods. Obviously this will take time, and experience will have to be accumulated. Soviet and economic organs also have to be restructured. Yet it will probably be even harder for them to do this. The habit of avoiding independent solutions to questions and hiding behind party committees has gained a very firm grip in this area.

[Interviewers] Aleksandra Pavlovna, how do you assess the role of local organs of power under present-day conditions in meeting people's need for goods?

[Biryukova] I believe it is fundamentally important that decisions on improving the activity of republic and oblast administrative organs and the economic reform be aimed at galvanizing what could be called regional and territorial interests. For a long time these interests have been undervalued in the theory and practice of running the national economy. The rights and responsibilities of union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, and oblispolkoms have been squeezed into a very narrow framework.

Since the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum the justifiable economic interests of regions have ceased to be identified with narrow selfish parochialism, and broad scope has been opened up for local organs' initiative and enterprise. Without removing sectorial ministries' responsibility for the production of articles for the population, the reform encourages union republics, krays, and oblasts to saturate the market with goods and to involve all enterprises and associations—irrespective of the departments to which they are subordinate—in such production. Local organs have been made responsible for ensuring balance between the population's monetary income and expenditure in their regions. You will agree that it is easier at local level to see how to be more economical in linking the interests of collectives at enterprises under union, republic, and local jurisdiction, kolkhozes, cooperatives, and cottage industries in order to replenish goods resources. The fact that this work can be well organized is attested by the experience of the Lithuanian SSR, for instance.

Unfortunately, in certain places a kind of gap has emerged between the responsibility entrusted to republics and oblasts for meeting the population's needs for goods and services on the one hand, and party and soviet leaders' awareness of these needs on the other; between the rights and independence granted to the localities and the ability and desire to make use of them. This is probably the most urgent area today in the organization of goods production and the provision of paid services. Many leaders still prefer to knock on the door of central departments, asking them to allocate additional goods

resources from all-union funds in order to prevent whole numbers of stores from being empty, to help with funds, since there is no money left for paying wages due to nonfulfillment of the trade turnover plan, and so forth.

We are right to criticize the "plague of imports" that gained ground during the years of stagnation, when people preferred to resolve many questions of our economic and social life by importing goods from other countries. Yet even today approximately the same methods—"imports" from other union republics or oblasts—are being used in certain regions to supply the population with goods.

For instance, in Uzbekistan the demand for consumer goods is only 40 percent met by the republic's production. Footwear, clothing, fabrics, and masses of the simplest consumer goods are shipped in. At the same time, the enterprises under all-union jurisdiction located in the republic have hardly been involved in this work at all. Roughly the same picture exists in Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, and a number of RSFSR oblasts. The power of inertia and the habit of blaming all-union organs for allegedly failing to resolve issues have taken their toll.

Yet what potential is available! For instance, today it is absolutely clear that the population's demand for goods can and must be met not only by the state sector, but by other forms of socialist economic management—individual labor activity and, in particular, flexible forms such as cooperatives. It is no exaggeration to say that the Law on the Cooperative System approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet the other day opens up the broadest scope for activity.

And so many options are possible in combining state associations and cooperatives, the lease and collective contract, and joint enterprises with foreign countries. Soviet organs and party committees must quest, experiment—both within the framework of republics, krays, and oblasts, and at sector level—and create intersectorial formations.

But how often are innovations still met with caution and prejudice about whether they are appropriate or socialist? There is just one criterion here, I think—namely, that if the project accords with the people's interests, if there is no exploitation of the labor of others, and if the socialist principle of the division of earnings remains unshakable then the project is appropriate.

To sum up the results of our talk I would say that the CPSU Central Committee and Politburo are constantly concerned about meeting the population's demand for goods. Of course, 2-3 years is not a long enough period for radical improvements. But what is important is that we have gotten right down to tackling this problem. We will all feel the concrete results in the near future. This is very necessary for Soviet people and for restructuring.

Abalkin Cites Bureaucratic Resistance to Reform

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[Text] In 2 weeks' time, on 28 June, the 19th National Communist Party Conference will open in Moscow. It will sum up the first results of restructuring launched in the USSR and outline ways of further promoting it. A major question to be discussed by the conference is the country's fundamental economic reform. The conference will gather 5,000 delegates. One of them is Leonid Abalkin, prominent Soviet scholar and director of the Institute of Economics, functioning within the framework of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Our commentator interviewed Dr Abalkin on the threshold of the party conference:

Dr Abalkin is one of the fathers of the economic reform. He never tires of pointing out that its major goal is to replace command methods in economic management with economic incentives, to grant all labor staff greater independence in terms of initiative and self-government. The Law on State Enterprise that went into force on 1 January this year provides for all this. Nevertheless, the platform for discussion at the conference suggested by the party's Central Committee, in whose drafting Dr Abalkin took part, points out that the opportunities opened when the reform began to be implemented failed to be used in full. Why? I put this question to Leonid Abalkin:

[Begin Abalkin recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] We encountered stubborn resistance on the part of the bureaucrats, who hate to alter their methods of work. Besides, we had to cope with the passivity of many labor collectives, used to life and work by inertia. The resistance of bureaucrats at a number of ministries and departments is understandable. The reform threatens to deprive many of them of power, to reduce and even abolish whole managerial units. As for the unwillingness to adopt new methods of work displayed by some labor staff, it was quite unexpected. Evidently we failed to provide for certain measures aimed at protecting the workers against infringment on their economic interests. Under new conditions, labor staff earn their profits themselves. The state does not subsidize them. This means that it is necessary to work better in order to live better. At first, this proved to be difficult for many who had got used to the old system of wage-leveling, and their wages plunged. However, those who have overcome this stage are already reaping the first fruits of reform. The country now has thousands of labor staff who have managed to sharply raise their labor productivity and reach the world level in terms of the quality of their produce. It is natural that their wages also rose considerably.

Life is a good teacher and I believe that the positive results of our reform will continue to increase. I am confident that this process will accelerate when we implement reforms in our system of pricing, financing,

and banking, when we begin to sell means of production which are now distributed on a centralized basis. The upcoming conference will discuss the effectuation [as heard] of all these innovations. The rate of our economic reform can and must be stepped up. [end recording]

Economist Answers Questions on Money Supply

PM1506134788 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 24, 11-17 Jun 88 (Signed to Press 9 Jun 88) p 4

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Perlamutrov under the rubric "Conversations on Economics": "Sources of Inflation"]

[Text] The editorial office has been receiving many letters on money, financial, and currency questions. "Why were sturgeon and even black caviar freely available in the stores 10-20 years ago or more? They have all disappeared now." "Can a Soviet citizen use the services of foreign banks?" "Why is there not going to be a monetary reform?" "For some reason the ruble has not become a convertible currency. Are we deliberately turning this benefit down?" readers ask.

Many questions are being asked. The only question not asked is the one about the country's money circulation mechanism. Yet that is the heart of the matter. For that reason let us begin our discussion there.

If we could take a bird's eye view of the national economy we would notice primarily two enormous counter flows between enterprises, organizations, and citizens—flows of commodities and money. Money is the means whereby commodities circulate. Through the medium of prices it brings what has been produced to the consumer: from plants and factories to kindergartens and the family table. For a long time these flows—money and goods—were poorly linked and unbalanced here. Money circulation in the economy is far greater than is objectively necessary for the normal course of events. That was determined by the old economic mechanism whose foundations were laid during the first years of industrialization. Now we want to replace it with a new mechanism which will enable the economy to develop efficiently.

Ten Kopeks for Every Ruble [subhead]

The flow of money consists of two elements: non-cash and cash (wages, fees). For every non-cash ruble there are approximately 10 kopeks in cash. From this fact alone one may conclude that the ruble's stability and firmness are based on non-cash circulation. Where is the cause and the effect here?

For example, the national economic plan determines that a given number of millions of rubles must be spent on capital investment—the construction of new enterprises and the modernization and reconstruction of existing ones. Roughly between one-fourth and one-third of those capital investments will be spent on labor remuneration.

Thus it is predetermined how much money in the form of cash will be brought into circulation. And everything will run smoothly if facilities are commissioned on time and cover their costs by means of their output. But our construction takes two to three times longer than the set norms! That means that construction workers will be paid two to three times more than planned. Their labor efforts have still not produced the proper return (efficiency), nor have the "never-ending construction projects" yielded any output, but the money has been paid out in full. And that money soon finds its way into the stores where there is essentially nothing to buy with it. Demand outstrips supply. And that is the main source of inflationary processes.

What Is the Source of the Surplus Money? [subhead]

What is the mechanism whereby excess money comes into circulation? There is only one institution in the country that puts money into circulation or removes it—the bank. If the rate at which loans are granted exceeds the repayment rate by debtors (enterprises and associations) the amount of money in circulation increases. And vice versa. Enterprises use that money to buy raw and other materials, fuel, and so on.

In the past two-three 5-year plans, stocks of material assets at our enterprises have been increasing 1.5-2 times faster than production volumes. This hoarding is financed mainly by bank loans. Since the early thirties banks have indulged debtors a great deal by extending the credit period, writing off debts, and so on. People borrowed, did not repay on time, and still received more loans. What is that if not mismanagement? Thus, strictly speaking, credit lost the attributes of credit: It must be for a precise term, it must be repaid, and it must be paid for.

The plan "in kind" is the dominating factor here. After all, it is not based on real money accumulations in the economy, quite the reverse. The Gosplan plans output in items, tonnes, and meters and the banks and the Ministry of Finance then have to find the resources and finance absolutely all plan expenditure. The Gosplan is paramount: It cannot be contradicted even when it is mistaken. There is nothing else for the Gosbank to do except put "surplus" money into circulation. That would have been bad enough, but there's more: This process undermines the incentive to the efficient management of enterprises and associations. No matter how much you spend, they will give you more. That is the second source of inflation.

Once again—as in the construction industry—part of the money taken as loans is turned into cash payments: wages, bonuses. Thus it is possible to pay not only for real work but also for idle time, shoddy work, negligence, and cigarette breaks.

The point is that the disease is caused by non-cash money circulation and the metastasis results from cash circulation. Thus there can be no self-financing while there is national economic planning "in kind," "social security" credit, "cost-based" prices, and so forth. The economic experience of the past 20 years has taught us that fact, though in theory this was always obvious.

For the reasons given the radical reform includes not only (I would venture to say, not so much) the transfer of enterprises to economically accountable self-financing and self-management but other reforms, too—the reform of planning, supply, price formation, finance and credit, and labor remuneration. The economic mechanism is a tightly linked chain. If you weaken one link the whole chain breaks.

Trading on "Someone Else's" Terms [subhead]

The final question—the convertibility of currency. It is not needed for trade with other countries. It is possible to trade—at world market prices—using the money in which those prices are expressed. Of course it would be better to trade using "one's own" currency but it is possible to trade using "someone else's." Convertibility of the ruble into foreign currency is necessary primarily for accurate and objective assessment and comparison—to judge what is being produced efficiently here and what is not from the standpoint of the world economy, what things are more profitably bought and what are more profitably sold.

At the moment we have a great number of arbitrarily established currency coefficients—coefficients for converting one currency into others. Essentially this is the same thing as, for example, having the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports set coefficients for converting soccer scores into scores in hockey, basketball, volleyball, or water polo.... And in many cases with such coefficients it is impossible to to say accurately whether the treasury is losing or gaining from the work of foreign trade associations, firms, and those (less than 100) enterprises that have been given the right to operate independently in the foreign market.

While our national economy was involved on a comparatively small scale in the international division of labor the inconvertibility of the ruble into other currencies (including extremely small exchanges in so-called non-trade operations) was tolerable. As long as our economic management efficiency was comparatively low and even falling there could be no other solution. Otherwise there would have been a real threat that we would gradually have been colonized economically or plunged into hopeless debt. There are examples of that among countries with convertible currencies.

Specific Answers to Specific Questions [subhead]

In the past two-three 5 year plans the population's money incomes have grown faster than the production of consumer goods. And when effective demand steadily outstrips the supply of goods, sturgeon and the other goods mentioned above do not stay on the shelves long.

The ruble was convertible in the twenties but ceased to be so with the beginning of the country's industrialization. The present radical reform raises the task of turning the ruble into a convertible currency, primarily in the CEMA market.

A USSR citizen may use the services of foreign banks. That is what the Nobel Prize winner Academician A. Kantorovich did, for example. Anybody sent on foreign assignment can pay his money into a bank and be paid through it instead of keeping it in his wallet.

Under our conditions I think that a monetary reform is pointless. If the state did that it would be roughly like a housewife whose faucet burst and who goes about mopping up the water from the floor instead of turning the faucet off.

PRAVDA Ponders Reasons for Plan Shortfall

PM1506144588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 Second Edition p 2

[V. Parfenov article under the rubric: "Restructuring and Us": "Why Only 'on the Whole'?"]

[Text] In 3 weeks our economy will reach the midpoint of the 12th 5-Year Plan. Half of the 5-year plan will be behind us. As we draw near this invisible "halfway point," many people will certainly think how time flies. But for economists this is a time for reflection and analysis of what has been achieved, what needs to be done, and how the effectiveness of economic restructuring can be boosted in the remaining period of the 5-year plan.

Brief results of socioeconomic development for the first 5 months of this year were cited in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo report of 6 June. The USSR State Committee for Statistics data for both preceding years were also published. So there is no need to repeat them. I would like to concentrate readers' attention solely on the practical questions that should now be most worrying our economic managers and all working people.

The USSR State Committee for Statistics report says: "Plan targets have on the whole been fulfilled." The following question arises: Why have they not been fulfilled completely but only on the whole? Many years and

5-year plans have gone by and we have accumulated much experience of planning, yet we have not learned how to fulfill our plans precisely on time in terms of the entire product list.

The question arises: Is it the plans that are imperfect or we who are not working at full stretch? It is both. For the present 5-year plan was formulated from above and production workers themselves were hardly involved in compiling it. As a result the plans were badly balanced. By no means everything was obvious from above. Even now, during the period of restructuring, we are still working inefficiently, continually letting one another down, and failing to make reciprocal deliveries. Not a day goes by without piles of telegrams dropping onto our editorial desks: "Help, we are being let down by metallurgists, cement producers, timber procurement workers, and railroad workers..."

Why are we so slipshod and sloppy in our work? For ultimately every case where supplies were disrupted begins and ends with someone who had a slipshod attitude to matters and failed to meet the target, and as a result this malfunction was repeated right down the line of associated plants.

Plans are disrupted usually because the plant or the construction site does not have enough workers. But look how we squander worktime. More than 700,000 people per day do not work in production merely because they are summoned to conferences, various courts, military commissariats, and other establishments. Even more time is lost due to sickness. The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that last year approximately 4 million people per day missed work as a result of temporary incapacity. This figure shows eloquently that people's health is an economic category. Thus we all need to show greater and more specific concern not in words but in deeds for people's health and to improve working and living conditions. Evidently, we must establish the same well-defined procedure with regard to medical certificates as operated in V.I. Lenin's time.

The multiple shift system is yet another reserve for economic growth. It does not take great capital outlay for all modern tools and machines to work two and three shifts instead of one or one and one-half shifts. We can achieve an enormous effect: By not constructing new plants and by cutting outmoded jobs, the manufacture of goods and commodities can be increased by 50 percent.

Yet the multiple shift system is being introduced only slowly and creakily. Over the last year the number of workers in workshops operating multiple shifts has risen by only 320,000, or by 2.5 percent. Things are going badly because we have not given up the old approach to matters. For instance, at the Zhitomir Automatic Machine Tool Plant even the latest equipment is used less than two shifts per day. Nonetheless the plant acquired another 53 machine tools with digital program control. As a result the workshops' shift index dropped even further.

Life shows that plans are fulfilled more reliably wherever production is retooled not in words but in deeds. During the first quarter of the year the number of robots, rotary, and rotary conveyer lines installed in workshops and also processing centers did not increase but decreased in comparison with the same period last year.

The main levers for improving affairs in production can be found at local level—in labor collectives. The potential of complete economic accountability must be exploited more fully and the Law on the State Enterprises fulfilled at all levels more rigorously.

Agricultural

Crop Protection From 'Pests' Urged

LD1506130388 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 8 Jun 88 p 1

[Plant Protection Service report under the general heading "Crops Need Exemplary Care": "Time Is Precious"]

[Text] Favorable crop conditions are developing in the country's main arable regions. Fall-sown crops and perennnial grasses overwintered well, the soil has accumulated moisture everywhere, and plants are developing normally. At the same time the plant health situation is very difficult in a number of places. The beet webworm—one of the most dangerous agricultural pests—has affected most of the Ukraine and Moldavia, the North Caucasus, and the Central Chernozem and Volga Regions. An outbreak such as this has never perhaps been seen before.

The pest's larvae are already hatching now. In many places they average 30-50 and sometimes 300-600 or more per square meter. This is posing a clear threat to sugar beets, sunflowers, corn, vegetables, and other crops.

In view of this situation, the USSR Gosagroprom has set up an operational group comprising senior officials from various departments and scientists. Such groups are also operating in the RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR, and Moldavian SSR Gosagroproms. They have been vested with full responsibility for organizing the campaign against the dangerous pest and supplying farmers with chemical and biological preparations and technical resources. However, their efforts alone are not enough, it is important that help come from kolkhoz and sovkhoz specialists. They must organize observation and signal posts to promptly detect and destroy the pests, since pesticides and biological preparations are most toxic to larvae at

growth stages 1-2 (under 5 mm). It is more difficult to combat them at later stages, when maximum doses of pesticides and a large number of applications are required.

Signals are already being received that in a number of places Dipterex is not having the desired effect on beet webworm. It is therefore best to use it mixed with other insecticides or to use it only against younger larvae. It is advisable to destroy the older ones by means of other, more effective preparations. When frequent precipitation occurs, which is true of almost all the territory inhabited by the beet webworm, it is advisable to add to the pesticide solution multipurpose liquid manures at a rate of 7 kilos per hectare. This method helps prevent the washing away and evaporation of insecticides.

Farms have been basically provided with all necessary resources, ground equipment, planes, and helicopters and have some experience of fighting beet webworm. It is now necessary to take prompt protective measures.

A no less serious situation prevails on the grain fields. The greatest threat here is the cereal bug [klop-cherepashka]—it has already colonized 3 million hectares of winter grain crops and is laying eggs on a massive scale. Caterpillars will begin hatching in the second 10-day period of June and if protective measures are not taken, the cereal bug will do great damage to grain production.

The weather is conducive to the development of disease. Powdery mildew, for example, has already appeared over more then 6 million hectares. Brown rust and septoria spot are in evidence. If they infest the flag [flagovyy] leaves of grain crops, harvest losses could be very marked. However, last year's experience shows that farms which managed to protect their crops from damage obtained the harvests planned.

Vegetable crops have not been lucky this year either. Many pests and diseases are building up momentum. The swarming of cabbage and cabbage white butterflies and cabbage and diamond-back moths is continuing. Trichogramma used without fail at the optimal time will help combat them.

Colorado beetle are laying their eggs and having their larvae hatch on potatoes (in the North Caucasus and Lower Volga Regions, the southern and southeastern oblasts of the Ukraine, and the transcaucasian republics). There is still a danger of damage by curculio in winter and spring rape fields.

In short, agronomists have no time to lose, it is essential to act in conformity with the situation pertaining in the fields.

Scientific

Further on Activities of 'Mir' Cosmonauts

LD1506122388 Moscow Tass in English 1044 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—A Soviet-Bulgarian crew are continuing successful teamwork in space on board the orbiting platform Mir.

In keeping with a program for space materials studies, they have completed an experiment codenamed Struktura (structure), which was started yesterday in a crystallizing tank.

The samples of aluminium-copper alloys with different iron contents that have been obtained during the experiment will be brought back to earth to help research into crystallization and efforts to develop new technology for producing composite materials.

A geophysics research program provides for taking pictures of land tracts and sea and ocean areas and for a series of experiments to determine the optical and spectral characteristics of the atmosphere of earth.

Experiments involving the Bulgarian astrophysics system Rozhen are continuing as well. The spacemen are using this equipment today to observe different clusters of stars and the central areas of our galaxy.

Medical studies during the flight have been regular. One such experiment codenamed Dosug, or leisure, is to take place tonight. It will aim to evaluate the impact of various musical audio and video programs and computer games on the crew's capacity for work and spirits.

According to telemetry data and spacemen's reports, the on-board systems of the platform Mir are functioning normally.

Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Anatoliy Solovev, Viktor Savinykh and Aleksandur Aleksandrov are in good health and feeling well.

Report on Space Photography

LD1506194688 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—The moments when the orbital space station Mir flies over Bulgarian territory are the most emotional moments for Bulgarian Astronaut Aleksandur Aleksandrov.

Photos of Bulgarian territory taken by him and Soviet members of the international crew (Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Anatoli Solovyev and Viktor Savinykh) will be used in various spheres of Bulgarian science and economy.

Although Bulgaria is small and the flight over its territory lasts for only a minute (and only on even days at that), the crew know that photos taken in the visual and different spectral ranges will help Bulgaria to resolve many practical problems.

Here are some of them. Using the information provided by the photos, experts will examine the airspace over every major Bulgarian city from the point of view of industrial pollution. They will have a chance of drawing special maps of forests and farmlands, like the ones already drawn with the help of the photos taken by Soviet cosmonauts from the Salyut-6 orbital space station. Now, it will be interesting to see the dynamics of changes which have taken place over this period.

Photos of the Black Sea water area will make it possible to judge about the spread of the Danube water stream there and to evaluate the qualitative and quantitative composition of the Black Sea plankton.

The crew think that yesterday's photos should be particularly useful. The sky over Bulgaria was cloudless and the cosmonauts managed to conduct a comprehensive remote probing experiment. Simultaneously, photography of typical Bulgarian natural regions was carried out from testbed aircraft.

More on Baklanov Tour of Kurchatov Institute

PM1506104588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In the Front Lines Of Science"]

[Text] O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, familiarized himself at a branch of the I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute with the progress of work in the sphere of controlled thermonuclear synthesis, with the results attained in the creation of magnetohydrodynamic generators and their use in prospecting for minerals, and with the potentials of industrial lasers and impulse plasma technology. He looked around the institute's testing unit and laboratory base, the experimental installations, including the Tokamak complex, and the computer center.

Practical questions of stepping up work in the most important areas of fundamental and applied research and boosting their efficiency and practical benefit for the national economy were discussed with the participation of the institute's leadership, the party committee, and leading scientists and industrial specialists.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee enquired about scientists' contribution to restructuring and about the organization of the institute collective's discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference.

Special attention was drawn to the need to retain the lead attained in resolving priority problems of world science, to reach world standards more rapidly in other fields of scientific developments, and actively participate in the creation of an international experimental thermonuclear reactor.

O.D. Baklanov visited consumer and cultural facilities at Troitsk, Moscow Oblast.

At the Center of Information Technology and Vocational Guidance he was familiarized with the computer training provided for school pupils and with classes in electronics, electrical engineering, and optics and talked with children enthusiastically studying there.

In the course of the conversations which took place, the city inhabitants made specific suggestions regarding the improvement of trade and consumer services. O.D. Baklanov answered their questions and informed them of the steps being taken.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by L.D. Ryabev, USSR minister of medium machine-building, O.S. Velikhov, CPSU Central Committee department chief, and Academicians A.P. Aleksandrov, Ye.P. Velikhov, and V.A. Glukhikh.

Military

Allegations of Soviet Military 'Menace' Refuted

LD1506180988 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

U.S. official representatives have been alleging of late that the "menace" posed by the USSR remains and urge the West not to weaken in the face of the Soviet military might.

They allege that the Soviet military doctrine, or at least strategy, has an offensive character.

It is apparent that the improvement of the international situation, the advance at the talks on arms limitation and reduction, changes for the better in Soviet-American relations do not suit these persons who rehash the long-dispelled myths. What is more, they disregard realities. It is known that the Soviet Union's concept of a comprehensive system of international security meets with ever greater recognition in the world. New political thinking on which the Soviet Union's foreign policy is based demands that the dogmata of "nuclear deterrence" and outdated views on problems of national and international security be abandoned, that mutual suspiciousness and distrust accumulated over many decades be gotten rid of.

As to the Soviet Union's military doctrine, its defensive trend is manifested in all military-political tasks, in the practical deeds in the home and foreign-policy areas. The approach to the very notion of military doctrine, to defining its primary objectives and tendency has been altered on the basis of new political thinking. Priority has been given to the task of averting war, both nuclear and conventional. The main provisions of the USSR's new military doctrine are impermissibility of the use of military way for the solution of any disputes, the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, under no circumstances to be the first to start military operations, not to treat any country as enemy.

It should also be noted that a critical analysis of military policy has been made in the process of the restructuring under way in the USSR. The principle of peaceful coexistence was developed further with taking into consideration the ralities of a nuclear-space age. The relationship between war and revolution was reviewed, and the emphasis was shifted from military to political measures in ensuring security.

Two aspects of the military doctrine—the political and the military-technical ones—have been harmonized. A stricter correlation between the military policy and the military-technical part of the doctrine, the art of war, military development has been ensured now. Under the doctrine, defense is now regarded as the main kind of military operations in repulsing aggression. The possibility of dealing a devastative retaliatory strike is envisaged for deterring the aggressor from unleashing war and dashing his illusory hope of winning the war.

The views on the principles of military development have been substantially revised: The criteria of reasonable sufficiency and non-offensive defence have been introduced. The USSR has refused to follow "the rules of the game" being imposed by the United States in the area of the arms race.

The combat might of the Soviet armed forces is maintained at a level commensurate with the menace. The USSR does nothing to develop and produce armaments over what is necessary for defences. It is not our country but the actions of the USA and NATO that set the limits of sufficiency. At the same time the USSR holds that the present parity between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty organisation and NATO is at a very high and dangerous level which should be lowered. Concrete practical measures in the area of disarmament and lowering the level of military confrontation, suggested by the Soviet Union, are fully in keeping with the defensive essence of its military doectrine and are aimed at the implementation of its fundamental provision—removal of the threat of war.

The Soviet Union's new thinking in the military area is confirmed by a radical change in its attitude to on-site inspections. The USSR expresses the readiness to pass on from separate measures of confidence-building to a scopeful policy of openness and glasnost in the military area.

Why is all this disregarded by those who continue hammering away about some mythical "menace" of the USSR? It is apparent that by such a hackneyed method they try to cover up their unpreparedness and unwillingness to advance together with the USSR in the reduction and limitation of armed forces and armaments, in the consolidation of international stability.

Party Members' Letter Discusses Army Bullying

PM1406140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 First Edition p 2

[Letter from V. Rayev, member of the CPSU since 1943, and M. Gluzin and B. Chernin, members of the CPSU since 1944, under the rubric: "From the Current Mailbag": "About a Soldier's Honor"]

[Text] Odessa—We ask you to view this letter as our part in the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Everyone is aware of what has been going on in recent years in the Army. So-called bullying, despite some people's attempts to reduce it to "isolated incidents," has become a serious problem. During the first half of their service young soldiers often suffer not only humiliation, but are also subjected to beatings. The result is that the Soviet Army—which should make a boy a man—during the first period of his service makes him a coward, a flunkey, and a slave and during the second turns him into a despot.

The command—from platoon commanders to ministers—are perfectly aware of the situation, but no one has hitherto really made commanders and political workers responsible or asked why there is no guarantee of normal service for young soldiers, for whom military honor should surpass everything else.

There can be no complete democracy within the country if the principles of democracy are not implemented in the Army, through which an overwhelming proportion of the male population passes.

Signed: V. Rayev, member of the CPSU since 1943; M. Gluzin and V. Chernin, members of the CPSU since 1944.

Air Force Academy Chief Interviewed

PM1506125788 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 May 88 p 10

[Interview with Marshal of Aviation Nikolay Skomorokhov, twice hero of the Soviet Union, chief of the Yu.A. Gagarin Air Force Academy, doctor of military sciences, by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer Vladislav Yanelis: "What the War Taught Us"; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Yanelis] You have mentioned losses. That is a bitter and continually painful topic for Soviet people. After all, 20 million dead is not

the complete figure.... The idea that our losses—especially in the first months of the war—were unjustifiably big no longer needs additional proof. It is fact. But was not the fact that we paid such an excessively high price for victory over the enemy really the direct responsibility of the country's top military leadership?

[Skomorokhov] You mean Stalin. It is true that Stalin issued the basic directives. From the Kremlin he commanded not only armies but also divisions. Because of his unskillful interference in troop leadership, especially at the start of the war, we suffered big losses in certain sectors of the front.

All that is true. People died, sometimes in vain, and countless pieces of hardware were destroyed. But you must remember that it was war. The desire to win come what may sometimes suppressed reason and calculation. I am not justifying Stalin. I am simply recalling that military experience did not come all at once, all of a sudden. War taught us ultimately to prize people's lives. But 1945 would not have ensued without 1941.

One thing must be understood. The technical level of the troops' equipment predetermined the outcomme of the battles of the Great Patriotic War to a greater degree than we are accustomed to talk of. The most courageous soldier does not stop a tank with machinegun fire. The bravest pilot in a poor airplane defeats only by accident an enemy ace whose machine is more sophisticated in all respects. You do not win the battles of Stalingrad, Kursk, and Berlin by patriotism alone. Paulus' army also fought desperately, especially in defense. The fusion of "men and equipment" won the day.

To this day we do not have sufficient serious analysis of the war period, and likewise appraisals of that time. And at the end of the war many people in general verged on such euphoria. Let us restore what has been destroyed, they said, and a wonderfully happy and peaceful life will begin. How can it be otherwise, they said, if the world's most mighty powers have fought shoulder to shoulder.

[Yanelis] Were the people—tired of war and longing to return home and to peaceful work—not right to think like that?

[Skomorokhov] I am not condemning those who exchanged military uniform for civilian dress. Incidentally, there was not need to maintain a huge army in peacetime, and many people had to leave the forces even against their will. I am against appeasement, blind faith in a world brotherhood of mankind, and political naivety. Even in August 1945 the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been carried out also so that it would be felt in Moscow.

Having conquered fascism, we had become dangerous to the United States and its allies. They saw us as a force capable of defending our own political will and influencing the fates of not only European but also other peoples. The war increased our potential and regenerated our science, economy, and industry. The military sectors raced ahead, to the detriment of the civilian sectors, and reached positions that were advanced for the time. It was a monolithic and totally mobilized country, the country of a conquering people.

[Yanelis] But even today we make tremendous efforts to maintain the high combat potential of our Armed Forces, we go to considerable expense in connection with the country's defense, and we are still forced to squeeze the economy's civilian sectors to the detriment of [as published] the military sectors. Is the threat of war really so real, so inevitable?

[Skomorokhov] That would be the last straw! A threat is a precondition of armed conflict, it is the possibility of war. For each side will strive to preempt a possible enemy strike and may involuntarily cross the dividing line between necessary defense measures and anticipation of an enemy strike.

It is true we spend considerable resources on the Army's needs. It is true we attract talented scientists, engineers, and workers into defense work. We produce weapons and we build metal-intensive combat hardware which in qualitative terms is of a higher order than civilian equipment. But if we had not done all this, would the last 4 decades or so have remained peaceful? I am convinced they would not have.

[Yanelis] If I have understood you correctly, you believe that a more or less lasting peace is only possible on condition that a country and its people maintain their capability to stand up for themselves in the event of armed conflict?

[Skomorokhov] This is how it has been and will continue to be. As long as all interested countries fail to take practical steps vis-a-vis each other to relax military tension, and while they maintain such excessively high combat potentials, it is premature to propagate pacifist sentiments in society.

[Yanelis] I believe these sentiments have intensified in connection with the events around Afghanisan. Today we are forced to admit that our country's political authority in the world arena has not been strengthened by Afghanistan. And many people within the country too did not accept the path chosen by the then leadership to resolve regional problems, however closely they affected the USSR's interests.

[Skomorokhov] In 1979 we were faced with a very difficult choice: to support the Afghan revolution by military measures or to restrict ourselves to economic aid. But, if we had not introduced troops there, the April revolution would probably not have held out....

As a military man, a professional, I must note that the Soviet forces' participation in military operations on Afghanistan's territory forced us to review a great deal of our previosuly formed concepts about modern warfare. In brief, we drew several lessons, for we must think constantly about improving the Armed Forces, which in no way suppresses in us military men the natural desire for peace.

[Yanelis] You talk of improvement—but the Soviet forces are returning from Afghanistan, Moscow is awaiting the U.S. President to sign very important documents lowering the leel of military confrontation, our ideas about the total destruction of nuclear weapons are gaining ever more supporters....

[Skomorokhov] Nuclear weapons in their present form are almost obsolete. Specialists realize this. They are too destructive both for material assets and for the environment. It is high time to abandon them. But weapons based on different physical laws, which are much more sophisticated and costly, are being developed [na starte]—and not on our initiative. I am talking about beam and laser weapons and so forth. In addition the West is modernizing conventional types of weapons. And I must note that—although we talk about parity—we are lagging behind the United States and its NATO allies in certain military spheres. This is true because in a number of cases our technology is lagging and because were are being slow to introduce electronics and computers.

[Yanelis] It is painful to acknowledge that in this matter we are falling short, although it seems that we devote to defence everything we can, and even what we cannot.... And how important is the role of aviation in contemporary conditions of military confrontation?

[Skomorokhov] Extremely important. Aviation primarily means the highest possible mobility. In the continental theater of hostilities ground forces gradually lose this quality (no offense to them) because of the slow speeds of travel. However, that does not mean that they have exhausted their potential.... An airplane taking off near Moscow arrives at Berlin in 90 minutes. Not to mention missiles, which take only a 10th of the time.

The time is not far off when world aviation will open up space and transfer its operations to orbital altitudes. I will stress here that we have never assumed the initiative in creating new classes of weapons.

As a military man I am not really in agreement with the role of "catching up" but as a citizen and a Communist I support the idea of disarmament. Professing a defensive doctrine, we are building our Armed Forces accordingly. This gives us political advantages but must not deprive us of the necessary means of armed struggle.

[Yanelis] Military-technical policy is a continuation of politics in general, that is only natural.

[Skomorokhov] Of course. But be that as it may, we must rule out the possibility of a surprise attack on us and reduce to a minimum the advantages of the attacking side. The lessons of the Great Patriotic War must be remembered. I say that both as a marshal and an experienced soldier.

[Yanelis] And what may these advantages—albeit theoretical—amount to?

[Skomorokhov] Military scientists—of whom I am one—believe that in the European theater alone the enemy may use more than 2,000 aircraft at any one time to attack the USSR. That means that 2,000 targets will appear on our radar screens at once.

[Yanelis] That is indeed a problem.... Let us hope that it will remain theoretical.

But there was something else I wanted to ask: Restructuring is under way in the outside world. You too are carrying it out here, and, knowing your fighting character, obviously not only in theory but also in practice. Tell us about your successes in this sphere.

[Skomorokhov] About the problems, rather. You do not build communism on one individual street. You do not implement restructuring in the form of an order. It is possible to die by order, but it is not possible to learn to think and to organize production, science, and the economy by directions from above. What do our fundamental troubles stem from? From the disregard of theory and economic laws. It is necessary to seek the optimum ways to solve urgent problems and strive to ensure that every ruble invested in defense produces the greatest return.

It is appropriate, in my view, to mention here that there is an urgent need to abolish some intermediate management bodies in the army and reduce to reasonable levels the bloated staff aparatus. Many capable officers whose place is among the troops are just swallowed up by routine bureaucratic work. And some of them have developed a bureaucratic mentality—so long as he is not disturbed, so long as he doesn't anger the boss. I am in favor of strict accountability. A person must remember that his work is monitored. Even the very highest-ranking leader is monitored. Shoddy work needs very severe punishment. We believe that up to 20 percent of economic reserve lie in improving the quality of goods. And in general, good work must be well paid and bad work must be punished. And it does not befit us to pass over our own shortcomings. You will not evade them by secrecy. Everything I am talking about now should be

openly discussed at the 19th all-union party conference, remembering that the Army mechanism and the structures connected with it, as indeed much else, are also in need of renewal.

Returning to the war. Until we felt that we had reached the limit and that further retreat meant death, until we told each other the truth that the position was extreme, we did not start to win. If we do not recognize this now, we will not begin to win today either.